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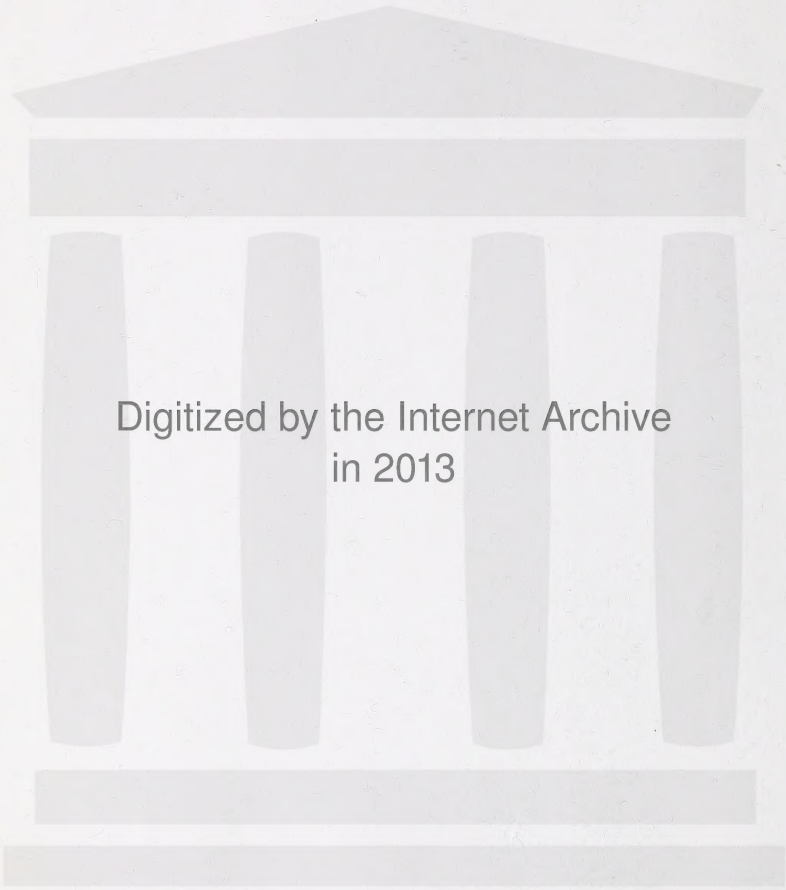
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THE

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

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1888 July-Nov

J. W. MENDENHALL, D.D., LL.D., EDITOR.

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J. W. MENDENHALL, D.D., Ph.D., Editor.

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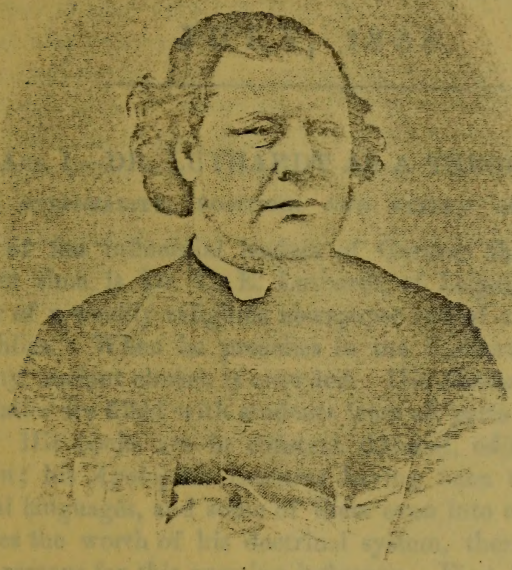

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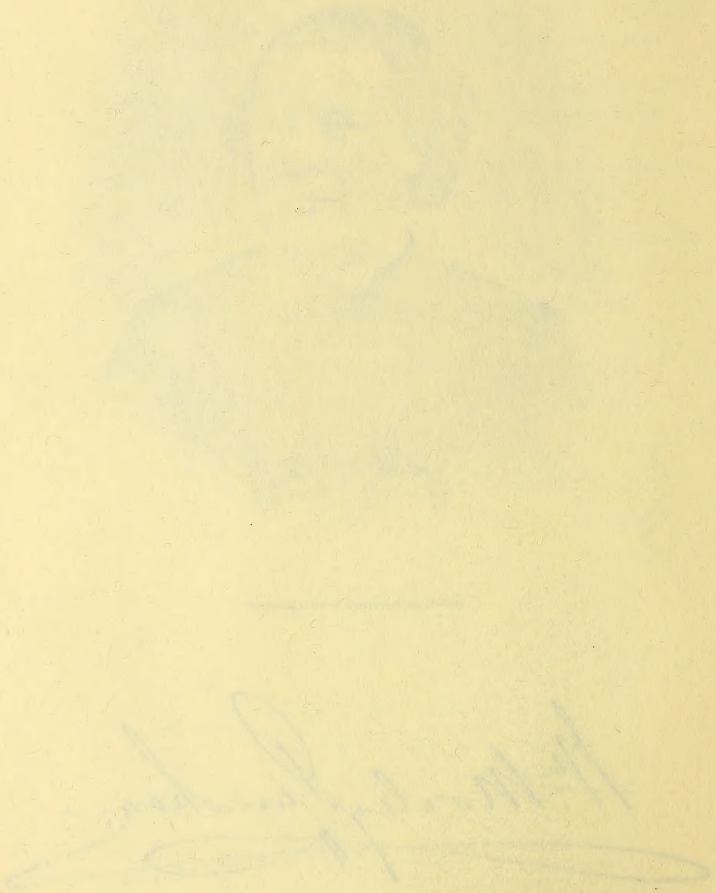

METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1888.

ART. I.—DR. LUTHARDT AS A THEOLOGIAN.

HIS PERSONALITY, POSITION, AND SYSTEM OF DOCTRINE.

ONE of the influential leaders of German theology, at the present time, is Dr. C. E. Luthardt, of Leipzig. He is the editor of a weekly religious newspaper and of two theological monthlies. When he preaches in the University pulpit the gloomy, ancient church is crowded. His classes in ethics and dogmatics are filled with students from all parts of the fatherland. His books are in constant demand, edition following edition; his *Apologetic Lectures* having been translated into several languages, and some of them even into modern Greek. Besides the worth of his doctrinal system, there are at least three reasons for this growing influence. First, he has a forceful personality. A tall man, of commanding mien, his features suggest the striking type found in the faces of Savonarola, Cardinal Newman, and John Wesley. His person has been thus described in a Berlin magazine:

> The tall, bony form; the pronounced features; the powerful brow; the clear eyes, which so proudly and surely glance out over the agitation of the world, are the outward signs of the stability and readiness of his inner being.

In all that he says and does—yes, in his presence itself—there is a firmness, a sense of mastery, a fearless, positive bearing toward men and their teachings, which has rendered possible the saying, "Luthardt is the Protestant pope." The students feel this positiveness, and express their notion in

university phrase. They have a way of indicating the peculiarities of a professor by applying to him a verse of Scripture. To Professor Franz Delitzsch is given St. John i, 47: "An Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!" To the modest Dr. Lechler, Exod. iv, 10, "O my Lord, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant; but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue." But to Dr. Luthardt, Gal. i, 8, "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."

A second reason for this increasing influence is, that since the pitiful mental prostration of Professor Kahnis, Dr. Luthardt has been, in fact, at the head of the theological faculty of the largest of the older German universities. Berlin alone has more students, and this is due to general advantages rather than to superiority in the theological department.* To those acquainted with the inside facts, it is plain enough that in dogmatics there is not in the empire a more influential chair than that now occupied by Dr. Luthardt. The third reason is, that in Saxony, and some would say in Germany, Dr. Luthardt stands at the head of the "Confessional School" of theology. This school, to be understood, must be placed in its historical relations. Some one has said that the "Confessional School" is a serious effort to raise the German Reformation from the dead. The work of Luther and Melanchthon, although very great, was not sufficiently spiritual to bear the severe test to which it was soon subjected. The Reformation was, in its nature, a ringing challenge to the reason, and Germany accepted this challenge, but, unfortunately, without the personal piety which alone could have made so much individual thinking fair and wholesome. Reason became, to use one of Bacon's expressions, "puffed up," and very small minds considered themselves wiser than all the ages. "In Germany, a man who is not occupied with the universe has really nothing to

* The last semester, October, 1887, to March, 1888, there were in Berlin University 5,478 matriculated students, and 1,590 students of art, etc., with certain privileges. In theology there were 801; from Prussia 651, and from Saxony only three. For the same semester there were in Leipzig University 3,288 students matriculated; in theology 693, from Saxony 343, and from Prussia 174. Dr. Luthardt came to Leipzig March 14, 1856. Only two professors, and these in the philosophical faculty, have been longer in service.

do." * Before the great leaders were buried in the Electoral Church the land was filled with the spirit of controversy.† The preaching was over-intellectual in tone. The most sacred doctrines were discussed as if religion were only a metaphysical duel. The very children were brought up to argue and criticise. And Protestantism presented the astonishing spectacle of trying to destroy itself. This was the enemy's opportunity. The Roman Catholics grew more and more arrogant, and received more and more favor from their sovereigns, until, in 1629, Ferdinand II. issued the Edict of Restitution. From this point the Thirty Years' War took on a fiercer character. Schiller and others have painted it as one of the most terrible conflicts in European history. All Germany was

> "Measureless spread, like a table dread,
> For the wild, grim dice of the iron game."

Had the spiritual life of the Reformation been equal to its vigorous mental life, this war might have proved the richest blessing, binding Protestant communities together, furnishing connectional interests, and teaching the new Church to utilize all the scattered forces which God had intrusted to its keeping. Had Protestantism been only ready, it is hardly extravagant to believe that the Roman hierarchy would now be a forceless thing, if in existence at all. But Protestantism was not ready. Protestantism had spent half its energy in polemics. Its faith was steeped in cold, critical mentality, and so it came out of its fiery trial discouraged and worldly. Kahnis says: "The result of the Thirty Years' War was indifference, not only to the Confession, but to religion itself." Out of this indifference and the mental pressure of the Reformation, together with English Deism as cultivated by Frederick II., arose German Rationalism.

The term "Rationalist" has been defined until there is confusion as to its real meaning. Strictly speaking, all thoughtful men are rationalists; that is, they try to give to all the crude material of experience rational form. No man is intentionally

* Madame De Staël. Her *Germany* contains exaggerations, but it is valuable to the student of the Reformation as a side light.

† The controversies growing out of the Reformation are given in a compact shape in Hurst's *History of Rationalism*. Chapter 1. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

irrational. But, like some other words, this word has come to have, in theology, a technical meaning, applying to one who begins his thinking with a certain *a priori* bearing. This bearing, in different men, appears to be a somewhat different thing; but at the center it is ever the same thing, namely, an assumption that the supernatural is irrational. In its more popular phases it may cling to the old definitions used by the supernaturalist; but it is never content until these old forms are explained as merely special natural phenomena. Dr. Luthardt* has made a careful study of this phase of German history, and points out its inner evolution. Rationalism, closely related to the philosophy of Kant, was an attack upon Revelation. This led to Pantheism, which developed in two directions, positively in Hegel, negatively in Goethe,† and was an attack upon the idea of the personal God, who alone could grant a revelation. This led to Materialism. The fathers of modern Materialism are, he says, "all three an outcome of Hegel, but have all gone over from pantheistic idealism to materialistic realism." Thus there have been three logical steps: "The first step is the anti-Christian; the second is the anti-godly; the third is the anti-spiritual and anti-moral." These all end in the pessimism of Schopenhauer, which is the "proclamation of bankruptcy." This is important as showing Dr. Luthardt's view of Rationalism; but, for our purpose, it is too speculative. We must go further back than Kant. He was not responsible for Rationalism, but only for its outward form. Rationalism was an outcome of "neology" which found its ripest expression in Semler, of the the University of Halle. With Kant's philosophy this "neology" passed over into another style of criticism, and was called "Rationalism" by many. G. Frank says the transition was due to the fact that Kant posited the practical reason as the universal source of religious ideas, and made morality the measure of dogmatic truth. But Rationalism had no centralization until, out from the left wing of the Hegelians, sprang David Frederick Strauss. From the date of his *Life of Jesus* there was consummate leadership, and for a time the

**Die modernen Weltanschauungen.* Leipzig, 1880.

† Goethe's Pantheism was more nearly akin to that of Spinoza than to the Idealism of Hegel. While Dr. L. calls Hegel a pantheist, and G. H. Lewes calls him an atheist, J. H. Stirling says, "Hegel is not only a theist, but a Christian."

Rationalists had a plan of battle as clear as one of Von Moltke's. It is very important to see that this entire movement in so-called free thought does not begin with Kant, and is not an outside attack of infidelity upon the Church, but begins in the Church itself, is cultivated in the Church itself, becomes a "neology," passes over into Rationalism, and is at last centralized in Strauss. In a deep sense the German Church is responsible for its worst foe—the very foe that, by 1750, had destroyed it. Destroyed is not too strong a word. Certainly the Church continued to exist in outward form, but it had no real life. The confessions of faith ceased to be used. The sermons were literary essays, with an ethical purpose, or even scientific talks about potato culture and housekeeping. The grand hymns had every holy and mighty element forced out of them, until one could not dream that they had ever been the battle-songs of God's armies. This rationalizing continued until it could have been said to the Church of Luther, as was said to the Church of Sardis, "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead."

The Rationalists were not allowed, however, to do this terrible work without antagonism. There were several great efforts to save the Church. The first effort was almost at the beginning of the danger. This effort was the pietistic reform of the reign of Frederick William I. There were spiritual souls who realized the condition resulting from the Thirty Years' War, and they began a reform which resembles at points the Wesleyan movement in the Church of England. Indeed, the German Pietists have been called "the Halle Methodists." Their great leader was Spener, one of the grand souls of his age. But the reform took its most practical turn in Francke, who, at Halle, preached sermons of a fervent, spiritual type, and established an orphan asylum which is a glory to Germany even to this day.* Had the Church of Luther accepted this reform, Rationalism could never have come to power. Truly the Pietists were extravagant at times, but all this extravagance could have been controlled by a strong Church; but no, the German Church, like the English Church, feared enthusiastic piety, and virtually courted destruc-

* In June, 1887, I visited the Orphan House at Halle, and found it in a most flourishing condition.

tion. The reform did much good, but, judged thoroughly, it was a failure.

Another effort to save the Church was that made by Schleiermacher, the greatest of German theologians. In his life three impulses appear more or less clearly: a pietistic impulse from the Moravians, under whose care a portion of his youth was spent; a critical impulse from his university life, and a definite impulse against Kant's philosophy from Jacobi. These impulses do not entirely explain the man, but they do help us to understand in him the strange mixture of Mysticism and Rationalism, of deep religious motive and semi-skepticism. Clearly he saw the danger of resting the Christian system upon mere intellect, so he changed the base to what he called "*Gefühl*," a word which, if literally translated into English (feeling), does not express all Schleiermacher meant. He did not mean what we mean by emotion. His idea was nearer to Emerson's of realizing the pressure of the "Over-Soul," upon which we all depend, and out of this realization getting a push toward moral action. When severely analyzed, Schleiermacher's idea is probably as pantheistic as Emerson's, although Schleiermacher tried to free himself from Spinoza, and in places succeeded. But the idea was so close to a precious Christian truth, and the condition of Germany at the time was so over-mental, and Schleiermacher's own life was so noble, that his doctrine had a tremendous force. It was supposed that he had saved the Church, but Strauss appeared, collected and restated all the Rationalism of the past, and again turned the battle against the faith.

Looking under the surface, Schleiermacher's failure was due not so much to the force of Strauss as to strange bits of Rationalism in his own system; as, for example, when he denied the resurrection of our Lord.

The next attempt to save the Church was made by the "Mediating School." This school of theology has become famous through such thinkers as Ullman, Rothe, and especially Dorner, the climax of the school, and one of the profoundest theologians this century has produced. The "Mediating School" is still represented in Berlin and other universities, and finds, perhaps, its completest expression in the theological faculty at Halle. The leaders of this school could be called

conservative liberals. They ever try to adjust all the advances of modern thought to what they deem the vital teachings of Christianity. As one has snugly put it, "They only try to relieve the strain on faith." It is a question whether they have done more than to drive Rationalism into new and more subtle forms; yet they surely have created a theological literature of permanent value. But, however estimated, their work has proved unsatisfactory to many of the finest minds and most spiritual souls in Germany. At its very best, they find in it the fatal touch of compromise. It has that Unitarian weakness, a negative tone; and it is for this reason that another school has come to the front against Rationalism. This is the "Confessional School," so called because it places central again the old confessions of faith.* Dr. Luthardt thus speaks of this school:

> The Confessional Dogmatics forms itself next to that of the Mediating theology, as an expression of the more completely accomplished return to the Confessional teaching of the Church—in part an historical exposition; in part an independent reproduction.

The spirit of this school may be expressed in a sentence: "To save the Church we must not play with Rationalism, but slay it." The historical work of this school has been done by such men as H. Schmid, Heppe, and Schneckenburger. To the side of independent reproduction belong Thomasius, Philippi, Hofmann, and Kahnis.† Of living theologians, the most original thinker of the school, some would say, is Frank of Erlangen; but, taking all sides of the work into consideration, the leader

* The German Church may be approximately classified thus:

1. The Evangelical or United Church of Prussia, numbering about one half the German Protestants. In this Church is the "Mediating School," which could itself be divided into right, center, and left wings.

2. The Confessionalists of Saxony, Bavaria, Mecklenberg, Würtemberg, and the German-Russian Provinces. They largely control the Universities of Leipzig, Erlangen, Rostock, and Dorpat, and number about one fourth of the German Protestants, and are rapidly growing.

3. The Protestantenverein, or Ultra Liberals, controlling the rationalistic universities. They are not officially recognized by the government, but are considered a part of the State Church wherever they are found.

† The "Confessional School" also claims Martensen, whose influence in Germany is great. He is often quoted in the University lectures. Dr. Luthardt has spoken of Martensen's dogmatics as "spiritual, skillfully written, suggestive, and rich in apologetic and speculative elements."

of the school is surely Dr. Luthardt. So his position is at the head of the only fully anti-rationalistic school which Germany has produced and accepted.

As we might expect, with the history of the German Church before us, one feature of Dr. Luthardt's work is negative. This is seen in his conflict with the new school of A. Ritchl, Professor of Dogmatics in the University at Göttingen. To the German Church this is the most important struggle since Hengstenberg tried to break the influence of Strauss. The old style of Rationalism is, if not dead, as harmless as the charmed Barbarossa waiting for the flight of the ravens. What there is left of it in the universities one can find at Jena and Heidelberg. But Rationalism, essentially estimated, is far from being dead. The new Rationalism is a new Kantianism. As Kant first destroyed the doctrinal basis and then tried to save Christianity for its moral worth, so now there is a brilliant and growing school of theologians making their way into the faculties of North Germany who reject the metaphysical basis, and try to keep Christianity as a rich system of ethics. The leader and founder of this new Kantian movement is Prof. A. Ritchl,* a man as attractive in his character as he is suggestive in his thinking. He claims that Dr. Luthardt has, either ignorantly or willfully, misrepresented him in the lecture-room, where the Leipzig professor is wont to speak of the Ritchl school as "the later Rationalism," or "the new effort to moralize Christianity," or "the new Kantian rejection of metaphysics." But Dr. Luthardt is not alone in his judgment. Prof. D. Fricke, who cannot be biased in this case, says:

> The Kant-Schleiermacher skepticism of Ritchl rejects as metaphysics the questions concerning God's nature and relation to the world; . . . the questions concerning Christ's person; concerning his pre- and post-existence, and concerning the Trinity. . . . God and Christ are treated by Ritchl merely as moral factors.

The different style of exegesis of the two opposing theologians is well illustrated in one place, where Dr. Luthardt is accused of mysticism. The passage is that deep one in St. John (xvii, 21) where the Saviour prays "that they all may be

*In July, 1887, I visited Göttingen for the express purpose of studying the personality and university work of Dr. Ritchl. I found him a man of large personality, interesting in the lecture room, and very popular.

one in us." Dr. Luthardt explains it in the old manner of the *Unio Mystica.* Believers are to live and move in the Father and Son, one with them, and yet without ceasing to be separate creatures. In reply, Dr. Ritchl says it is easy, very easy, to repeat such words, but no living man can tell what they mean. The passage merely teaches that the disposition, the intention, and the outward life of the believer are to be in harmony with God, as the disposition, intention, and outward life of Christ were in harmony with his Father. Dr. Ritchl treats all texts suggesting mystery in the same clear, ethical, and superficial way. It is probably the most refined, the most fascinating Rationalism to be found outside of the best writers in Unitarianism. It makes a great show of common sense, deals tenderly with all religious sentiments which can be utilized in a beautiful, moral life, and cultivates popular ways of presenting its views. It is a half-way house out of the terrible doubts inspired by Wellhausen, and it is no wonder the German students often take it for a place of perfect refuge. As one student said hesitatingly: "I want to stop *somewhere.* I think I will go to Göttingen." Thus the Ritchl school is becoming the most powerful foe of Orthodoxy. This fact Dr. Luthardt recognizes, and so labors constantly to exhibit the real nature of the enemy. In one of his books alone there are twenty-four references to Ritchlism; and in his winter lectures on dogmatics one can almost tell when the Göttingen professor is to receive further criticism, from the deepening of the speaker's voice into an ominous intensity, which suggests easily the tone of a Hebrew prophet.

This negative side, however, even if very necessary, is not the better side of Dr. Luthardt's work. The bitterness of the present controversy will pass away, and the final victory, if gained, must depend, not upon critical ability, but upon positive work of construction. Here, we believe, Dr. Luthardt will not fail. Later it may be seen that now he is really concealed somewhat by the smoke of battle; that he is largely a builder; and the "critic's peep" is accidental to the history of his Church, and to the present shape Rationalism is taking. A fair study of the man will lead to the conviction that his tendency is apologetic rather than polemic. The books by which he is best known are his Apologetic Lectures. The tone of some

of these lectures has seldom been equaled for a perfect blending of confidence and toleration.* At times he rises to the kindly spirit in argument of John Fletcher. At other times, it must be admitted, he can see nothing but the strife of the day, and his conclusion snaps and flashes like a needle-gun. The student, if he notices only this fierce, explosive side, is likely to say, "Luthardt is a narrow soul with a hobby." But a judgment could hardly be more unfair than this. Dr. Luthardt is a man with strong convictions and intensity of utterance; but he is also a broad man, with a large, generous survey of the past, and an outlook as wide as his comprehensive scholarship. His range of interest is not confined, either. He has published ten volumes of university sermons, and some of them are as simple and practical as Charles Spurgeon's. Years ago he wrote a book on the origin of the fourth gospel, and scholars value it to-day.† His popular theological lectures on such themes as the "Person of Jesus," the "Peculiarities of the Evangelists," and the "Steps in Christian Revelation," are as interesting but less sensational than those of Joseph Cook. His short commentaries are spiritual, and yet up with the times. He is also interested in ethics, and has published three books in this department.‡ He has much to do with the practical questions in the Church, lecturing on the service of woman in the Church, and discussing other problems pertaining to Church polity and missionary endeavor. And to all this must be added essays and lectures on literary and art subjects, which, if not thorough, show how such themes can be treated by a Christian preacher, and indicate a versatile mind and an extraordinay range of study and interest. But in and through all, Dr. Luthardt is a theologian. He goes through life thinking ever of the great doctrines of God. This brings us to his most important work, his *Compendium of Dog-*

* Of these Apologetic Lectures, three series, at least, have been translated into English: 1. *The Fundamental Truths of Christianity*, Edinburg, 1873; 2. *The Saving Truths of Christianity*, Edinburg, 1880; 3. *The Moral Truths of Christianity*, Edinburg, 1881. In German, the first series has reached its tenth edition.

† This book has been translated and enlarged by an American scholar, C. R. Gregory, and of even more value than the German is this English edition. *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, Edinburg, 1875.

‡ Besides the third series of Apologetic Lectures, a work on Luther's ethics, and another, lately published, on the ancient ethics.

*matics.** This book is not, he says in the preface, his Dogmatics, nor even a fragment taken out of his system, but only a gathering of the necessary historical material. One can, however, easily be misled by the modesty of this statement. Comparing it with his University Lectures, and with his published works of all kinds, it is easily seen that the compendium contains the pith of all Dr. Luthardt's theology, and out of it can be formed his system almost as completely as Dr. Pope's system can be obtained from his larger Compendium. Dr. Luthardt's little book is printed in the most economical manner known even to a German, and yet, to a student, it is one of the most useful in all theological literature. It furnishes him with three important things: 1. The literature, so that not an hour need be wasted on useless books. 2. A summary of the Scripture bearing upon the doctrine. 3. A brief history of the doctrine in the church and in philosophy. And with all this there is a clear, concise statement of the author's own opinion, a thing entirely wanting in some books of this character. The Compendium is planned under a scheme of paragraphs and sections, which, if not so striking as the arrangement of the systems of Kahnis and Martensen, proves in daily use a fine scheme for covering all the ground and grouping all the themes.

In a limited article it is impossible to discuss thoroughly an entire system of theology. The most that can be done is to notice such doctrines as tend to bring out the features of Dr. Luthardt's system, and then, perhaps, try to discover the secret of his method. The paragraphs, in the introduction on religion, are very important as furnishing the key-note of the system. Here the author criticises both Kant's religion of doing and Hegel's religion of knowing. Neither is he satisfied with Schleiermacher's idea of a feeling of dependence; but affirms that religion has to do with all there is of a man—is "a fact of the collective inner life." The religious possibility is lodged in the center of the nature, where reason and feeling and will come together, the "*heart*" of the 53d psalm, the secret place of personality, the home of the intuitional life. Further, religion *is* a personal relation existing directly between God and the individual soul. Professor Ritchl says, "Religion is mainly the

* "*Kompendium der Dogmatik*," 7 Aufl., Leipzig, 1886.

function by which the strain (*Spannung*) between the given condition of the created spirit and its claims toward the natural world can be loosened." Thus God is used only indirectly as a help to man, that he may solve the problem of his earthly antagonisms. Dr. Luthardt says that this is the central weakness of the Ritchl system; but one can see that the weakness comes by an over-emphasis put upon what Jesus says (John xvii) about being in the world and not of the world. Certainly Dr. Luthardt is right. Jesus never considered God as a mere assistant to the mastery of life. The great command is not, Thou shalt master the world, but, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy being. This may seem to some a case of theological hair-splitting, but it is of the greatest importance, protecting us from a one-sided theology as well as from a false ethics. Religion is, essentially, neither a doing, nor a knowing, nor a feeling, nor a harmony with the present environment, but it is an entire manhood going out through all faculties to God, or to the Representative of God. At its best, it is the complete consecration of the psalmist, "*All that is within me* bless his holy Name!"

Out of this view of religion comes Dr. Luthardt's view of Christianity—a view which, to be appreciated, must be studied over against speculative German theology. As religion has to do with God and man directly, so Christianity is a personal relation between Christ and a separate soul. Christianity is not a new morality, nor a new science of faith, but it is a yielding of person to person. Heathen religions, when impersonal, become more personal as they become more vital; so, as we might expect, Christianity, the final religion, is entirely personal. Many things grow out of this new revelation in Christianity, but these must not be confused with Christianity itself. There is much in literature written, like Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, expressly to weaken the Christian sense of a personal Saviour, and to place Christianity side by side with the best ethnic religions as a gospel of "sweetness and light." Heathen religions are being studied as never before, and every bright feature of them emphasized, and their poetry purified and introduced to Western culture. We need not fear all this, but the Church must clearly keep before the world the old Christian claim of a supernatural revelation, and a personal salva-

tion by a personal Saviour. Dr. Luthardt is none too narrow in his treatment of the heathen. They have a natural revelation, which is of *some* value, both for individual salvation and for national prosperity, but all they have must be corrected and completed by the only Word of God.

In the first part, Dr. Luthardt discusses the proofs of the existence of God. He does not call them proofs in a proper sense, but says they are useful to justify a person's belief in the presence of the understanding. This was Dr. Latimer's position. He used to quote the words of Hase of Jena: "These proofs are not designed to ground the existence of God, but only to show our faith in his existence as rational and necessary." Such a position is modest enough, but Dr. Luthardt, especially in his more popular writings, does not keep to this modest position, but uses these proofs in almost the same exacting way in which Descartes used the ontological argument. He has been known to assert that we can think of God only as existing. This is not all. Strongly he states it that we all have a consciousness of God's existence. But the facts do not support this old style of statement. What is the truth about the so-called intuition of God? There is no clear, universal intuition of the one and only God who has been revealed in the Bible. There is, however, a universal sense of the supernatural. There is a universal belief in some kind of Deity bearing over against us, and this universal sense is the foundation of all the natural religions. With this foundation, the more thoughtful soul can look out upon all life as a problem, and is, perhaps, now able to accept the idea of a personal God as the best explanation of this problem. The so-called proofs can be used at this point with force. The best explanation of the existence of the idea of God—of the contents of that idea—of the world as a whole—of the world as exhibiting design in things—of the progress in history, and of man's conscience and religious history, is the personal God. Even in a natural religion, one can come to a point where it is the truest mental process to believe in God. That, we fear, is all that can be done without the revealed word. Surely it is something, but it does not PROVE, in any proper sense, the existence of God; and probably alone it has never led one mind to certainty; so it is as

foolish to arm theological students with these old weapons to meet the skepticism of to-day, as it would be to equip the German infantry with all the rusty cross-bows in the Berlin arsenal! How, then, do we come to absolute certainty? Only through Jesus Christ our Lord. He reveals to us God just as he reveals to us immortality. We can be in a position where it is the highest act of the complete man to accept him as Master. Now, Jesus takes the intuition of God, which man had originally, but which sin has broken into a mere sense of the supernatural—a weird hunger after the Eternal—Jesus takes this old intuition and clears it up, puts it together in the Holy Spirit, and when his work is fully done all the revelation of God in the Old Testament, and all the indications of God in the outer world, meet with a sure response in the soul, and we dare cry out "Abba, Father!"

With other German theologians, Dr. Luthardt defines God "as the absolute personality." The objections to this definition are a study. In America there is a prejudice against the definition, because it has been associated with philosophical speculation. In Germany, thinkers with a pantheistic bias object to the word personality, affirming that personality limits God, and renders him unworthy of worship. A follower of Fichte wrote to one of the Leipzig professors, "Your notion of a personal God is much lower than mine of a God too vast to come to a focus of personality." On the other hand, Dr. Ritchl objects to the word absolute. In his criticism of Frank of Erlangen, he bursts out with a dash of humor: "The absolute! How lofty that rings! I remember faintly that the word busied me in my youth, when the Hegel terminology threatened to draw me into its abyss." But in spite of all wit and prejudice this phrase is, in the realm of definition, one of the best things peculiar to German theology. To harmonize all the Bible reveals concerning Deity, we need, first, to consider him the finality—that is, the bottom of all life and the end of all thinking. He is the first cause, we are wont to say. He must supply the ground for his own existence, and for the existence of all things. Does not the word absolute hold this thought which tries to escape from other words? Again, this finality of life and thought we need to make personal. Matthew Arnold has tried to explain the Old Testament by means

of an impersonal Eternal, but it cannot be done; and if it could be done the New Testament could not be so explained. We must have a person. The German absolute is a person—is an organism with a centre of thought, feeling, and volition. The person does not come out of the absolute, but the person *is* the absolute. Dr. Luthardt allows no background, allows no path to peep out behind the person of God. All of God is self-conscious. Every fragment of pantheism must be kept out as dangerous to a theodicy. God is the absolute personality. But are the two terms not contradictory? Does personality not mean limitation? It does with us, but not with God. We come to self-consciousness by a process of limitation, by striking the outside world. But our personality is only a faint image of God's. He needs no development—no outside against which to strike. All there is in his vast nature eternally enters into his self-consciousness. He made a world; he built an outside for us, and in this outside he is immanent; but it is childish to push the idea so far as to think of God as cramped by this relation which he has, for our good, assumed. He is as transcendent as he is immanent. He is in nature, but superior to nature.

Even more than Dr. Luthardt values this definition of God as the absolute personality, he values the next one, that God is the holy love. He says that God, as the absolute personality, is experienced and made known in the historical revelation of salvation as holy love. This is the conception (the holy love of God) which largely constitutes the foundation of Dr. Luthardt's system. But why HOLY love? We live in a time when the tendency is to emasculate religion; to urge the sterner doctrines toward poetry and sentimentality; to turn the solemn atonement itself into what Horace Bushnell called "the spilling of a mother pardon." So it becomes very necessary to insist that the love of God is holy. Yet, pushing deeper into this idea, what is its content? What is the holiness of God? To use one writer's homely figure, we have no right to think of attributes in God "as pins stuck into a cushion;" yet God is revealed to us, not only as a Trinity, but as a complex Trinity, and we must receive this revelation as a genuine expression of the nature of God. Then, as God's nature is complex, there is *logically* conceivable a conflict of elements.

With this in mind, it can be affirmed that the deepest meaning of holiness is that of *wholeness*, or that state of a complex moral nature in which every element fits into and supports every other, every fragment of thought, feeling, and volition in harmony, all the inner life of God at rest. God, then, all at rest within, thinks, and that is the truth. God, then, all at rest within, wills, and that is the right. There has been in theology and philosophy almost endless dispute over the nature of the right. What makes a thing right? Some have said that God creates it so, and a right thing could just as well be a wrong thing if God had so decided.* Others have said that right is right anyway; there is a law behind God to which he must himself conform.† Both of these explanations are pernicious, if carried out logically into all doctrine. As Faber has it in his hymn, "Right is right, *since* God is God." Right is a holy thing; that is, it is grounded in the *wholeness* of God. Right is the moral expression of all there is of Deity. Now the moral law takes on an awful dignity, and the atonement has a philosophical basis proportionate to the suffering of our Lord. Dr. Luthardt, in the first part of his work on the Will, touches the truth when he says, "The free will of God is fitted to his being. Out of himself—that is, out of the contents of his being—he determines himself in his willing and doing." It would be better to give to the word holiness all its force, and to say, out of the holiness of God he determines himself in his willing; he wills and does the right because he is holy. This leaves only one step to take. Love is but the vast feeling of the complete God. He must be all of himself. He loves, he can love men, yea, he can love his own Son, only out of the wholeness of his complex nature. So there is love in all his justice, and justice in all his love; and the very anger of God is never a bitter fragment of passion, but as holy as his mercy. If this be true, orthodox theology would better allow the whole of Deity to bear a system of doctrine, through all discussion saying clearly, God is holy.

* Even Dr. Whedon says: Whether God "could not make himself equally happy in wrong is more than we can say."—*The Freedom of the Will*, p. 316.

† Mr. Dale, in his work on the Atonement, expresses this in the least objectionable way when he says, that the abstract law becomes alive in God; but this will not answer either.—*The Atonement*, Chicago, 1876, Lecture IX.

In no other part of systematic theology can an author's inner *trend* be so easily discovered as in his treatment of the doctrine of sin. If there be a Pelagian bias, or if he has compromised at all with "the ethical spirit of the age," it is sure to appear here. The fact of sin is before us, but the difficult thing is to explain its existence. It can be safely explained only in a *personal* origin. And here the doctrine of a personal tempter ("the old-fashioned Bible view") is necessary to the understanding of both the Old and New Testaments, and the daily life of men. All other views tend either to Pantheism or Rationalism, and cheapen the entire plan of redemption. Theologically the hope of man's salvation is in the fact, partly, that sin was not originated but only accepted by him; for recovery to one who has deliberately originated sin is, provided we do not poetize the nature of sin itself, philosophically unthinkable. It seems a strange thing to say, but, the facts being what they are, it is almost as important for a theologian to believe in a personal devil as to believe in a personal God or a personal Saviour. Dr. Luthardt fails not at this point. His doctrine of Satan has the ring of Martin Luther himself. He says:

> On the ground of Scripture, of the testimony of Christ, and of the fact of the power of evil, the Church teaches the existence of the devil—that is, one created by God a good, spiritual being, who, through his own will, set himself in antagonism to God and his work of salvation, and drew other spirits after him, and thereby originated sin and death in the world of mankind.

Here is no attempt to modernize Satan in the name of culture. Here is no attempt to relate Satan pleasantly to the Almighty. Goethe, in the prologue to *Faust*, blasphemously represents God as saying:

> Man's activity is all too prone to slumber; he soon gets fond of unconditional repose; I am therefore glad to give him a companion who stirs and works, and must, as devil, be doing.

All this comes from a mere artistic use of the Book of Job; and this Faust-idea of Satan and evil can be traced all through the literature which has taken its tone from the Weimar pantheist; and this Faust-idea is creeping into modern theology; and so it is a matter of thanksgiving to find a teacher in the very university where Goethe "studied little and loved much,"

repeating the doctrine of a Satan-rebel, and out of this stern truth constructing a doctrine of sin.

As the second important factor in a personal origin of sin is the freedom of man's will, to this subject also Dr. Luthardt pays much attention; not only in the *Compendium* and in his *Apologetic Lectures*, but his most elaborate work is on the will in its relation to grace. The value of this book is largely in its historical expositions; yet, at the beginning and end, he states his own view. With other writers in the Church he divides freedom into formal and real freedom. Formal freedom is genuine as far as it goes, but it is fragmentary—it is the will acting out of relation to the complete man. He says:

> The will is the might of self-lordship and self-conquest. This self-lordship does not change the inclination, but it does bind it; it does not change the inner *habitus*, but it determines the *actus;* not merely the outer *locomotiva*, but also the inside of the concrete volition. For without the inner volition there cannot issue the outward action which stands in opposition to inclination. So man possesses in his will the possibility of putting himself in opposition to himself, namely, his individual willing and doing in antagonism with his will's direction.

Then follows a fine discussion of sin and conscience, showing how impossible it is to change "inclination" and realize the highest freedom without the grace of God. Doubtless this statement is satisfactory to many; but it is superficial, as compared with Dr. Whedon's masterly treatise, in showing us the real content of a free act. Its strongest point is its emphasis upon the bondage of sin and the necessity of grace.

In Dr. Luthardt's system sin, originating in personality, is a selfish antagonism to God and requires atonement. Thus he reaches the incarnation. "Sin requires atonement, and atonement requires the God-man." Since the Schleiermacher reaction, many German theologians, such as Nitzsch, Rothe, Lange, and Dorner, have taught the absolute necessity of the incarnation; that even if man had not sinned Christ must have come to complete the race. With Julius Müller and Thomasius, Dr. Luthardt rejects this teaching as a mere speculation, not supported by Scripture and at variance with primitive doctrine. He says that Schleiermacher's stand-point demanded this speculation; for to Schleiermacher Christ was only "the end of creation, the ultimate development of the divine germ deposited

beforehand in human nature." Such a Christ, however, is a creation of the imagination, and not the Saviour of the New Testament, "not the restorer of that which sin had destroyed, not God and man in one person."

On the other hand, the doctrinė of the kenosis, deduced from St. Paul's words (Phil. ii, 7, 8, *ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν*), Dr. Luthardt accepts in a modified way. He opposes Philippi squarely, and somewhat revises the statement of Thomasius. His position is that the change in the Son of God accomplished by the incarnation is one of relation to the world. During his earthly life the Saviour renounces "the actual sovereignty of the world in the service and for the purpose of his office of love toward the world, until, at his exaltation, his office again requires the sovereignty for the purpose of appropriating to the world that which he had earned for it by loving service."

Another doctrine which has been advocated in Germany by Keim and others is sometimes called "*the Plutosis*," and is, that the Messianic consciousness in the Son of man was gradually developed, even to a period beyond his baptism. Dr. Dorner* went as far as to hold that the blending of the divine and human was a result of this earthly development. All this Dr. Luthardt decidedly rejects. He says:

> It is true that Jesus did not from the very first, but only gradually, bear testimony to the Messiahship; but it is equally so that it was on pedagogic grounds, and not because he did not at first feel and know himself to be the Messiah. When he went to his baptism his inner development was complete; he was certain both of his person and his office.

In regard to these three doctrines, of the absolute necessity of the incarnation, the kenosis, and the plutosis, there is a temptation to write much, but only a word is here possible. The more one studies the word of God the more surely he feels that, whatever might have been possible with a perfect race, it is sin which has rendered the incarnation, as it is in history, a necessity; and the incarnation should ever be connected with the atonement. Further, the student of the life of Christ feels that, for this new relation to men, the Son of God made a sacrifice much deeper than appears on the surface; that there was before the nativity a limitation, an emptying of

* It is somewhat misleading to associate Keim and Dorner. *Komp.*, 210.

self by the Logos, which was an awful preparation for the full atonement. With all this, he feels that our Lord's life on earth in human limitation was not artificial, but real; and Christ's consciousness, if in a sense complete at his baptism, must have been intensified by all his earthly experiences, even to his resurrection. It seems so superficial to think that all that wonderful life of word, deed, and suffering never reacted, never did any thing for the soul within. Every touch of Docetism must be banished from theology.

Dr. Luthardt's presentation of the doctrine of the atonement is not very satisfactory. It is something more than the "*Cur Deus Homo*" of Anselm; yet it is but a modern statement of the penal theory. He says the necessity of an atonement "is involved in God himself." "Only a guiltless one, appearing as a substitute for the guilty, is capable of offering the true atonement." So Christ, "of his own free will took upon himself the penal consequences of sin, which he suffered by death, and thus made them his personal act and deed; which, he being our representative, holds good for us." More stress is laid on the personal and moral elements in Christ's sufferings, and they are considered "expiatory" rather than "penal;" but otherwise the old form of statement is not much changed. The value of this theory is in its grounding the necessity of the atonement in the nature of God, a point where some Arminian writers fail either in fact or in emphasis; but with this protected we can treat the nature of the atonement better from the stand-point of the governmental theory, and then put full as much emphasis upon love as any man can who starts from the one-sided idea of the moral theory. To pack the idea into one sentence, the holiness of God (using holiness as already explained) must be satisfied; but it has been satisfied by such a sacrifice as upholds the moral law and answers the conscience of man; and this sacrifice obtains much of its power over the human heart by means of its vast expression of the love of God toward the sinner. Dr. Luthardt seems to be ignorant of the fact that the governmental theory is not, in these days, best set forth in the writings of Hugo Grotius, and also of the other fact that many Arminians are not content with the governmental theory, even at its best.

It is in the fifth part of his system that the decided Luther-

ism of Dr. Luthardt most clearly appears. We expect a Lutheran treatment of Baptism, but "Consubstantiation" many suppose to be numbered among the lifeless dogmas; yet it is now taught in the most representative of Lutheran universities. Dr. Luthardt says:

> The Reformed Church makes the earthly element only a sign and pledge of an inward spiritual communion of believers with Christ; it is not the body and blood of Christ. . . . Our Church (the Lutheran) believes itself obliged to take Christ's words as they stand and as St. Paul understood them. . . . The reception of bread and wine is the reception of the body and blood of Christ.

In ecclesiology, also, is Dr. Luthardt's full discussion of the Holy Scripture. This place is selected for the discussion, not merely because the Scriptures are a means of grace, but because they are considered as directly for the Church and only indirectly for the individual. His entire scheme, as gathered from all his writings, can be briefly stated thus:

1. The origin of the Scriptures is in God. The Bible is the "history of salvation." This history has been presided over by the Holy Ghost, who has used men to the end in view, inspiring them, but never destroying their individuality. This is more than Dean Stanley's idea that the Bible is the history of an inspired people. Separate men were specially inspired. "The spirit of God presided over their mental activity by revealing truth, illuminating their minds, and directing their thoughts and words, so that they said the right thing in the right words; and so that it was adapted to the use, not only of their own time, but of the Church at all times." But "God did not treat them as mere machines, for it was only by the most concentrated energy of their minds that they became organs of the Spirit."

2. The purpose of the Scripture is salvation. The Bible is not a scientific work at all. The most that can be required of it, in relation to science, is that with a fair, patient interpretation it shall not contradict the truths of the natural world. For example, the first chapter of Genesis must not be so narrowly taken as to antagonize the facts of geology. This purpose of salvation must be kept in mind in all criticism whether "lower" or "higher." This purpose cannot be disturbed by

the rejection of a solitary text, neither by a victory for the composite theory of the Book of Genesis.

3. The keeping of the Scripture is with the Church. The canon and its correct interpretation are to be determined by the Church. Ever remembering the purpose of the Bible, the Church must decide all controverted questions out of her own experience, and with the help of the Holy Ghost. But the Church must have "an ear as well as a mouth." The Church must be open to all the voices; she must never lock in mind and conscience, as the Roman Church did before the Reformation.

4. The individual can freely use the Scripture; but he should keep close to the Church. His certainty is in three things: 1, the Bible; 2, the Church; 3, his own inner experience. But he must bear in mind that his ultimate salvation is neither in the Bible nor in the Church, but in Jesus Christ alone.

This scheme we deem the best one in German theology, which from Luther's day has been loose in its doctrine of Scripture. Of course, Dr. Luthardt, by the word Church, sometimes means the entire Church of Christ; and so, in place of the word "Church," it would perhaps be better, in such cases, to use the expression, "Consensus of Faith." Then more courage should be shown in trusting the Bible to the individual; and this confidence should be protected by making a clear distinction between the Bible as a theology for the Church and the Bible as a simple guide to salvation and a daily help to the believer. Then it should be more clearly shown just what the difference is between the inspiration of a man and the result of that inspiration, namely, an inspired record. If Dr. Luthardt were only free from the subtle restraint of a State Church, he would, with his inner tendency, build, from an orthodox stand-point, the completest doctrine of inspiration theology has ever known; but what can a theologian do with German history behind him, and the German Church atop of him, proud of the one and loving the other?

On eschatology Dr. Luthardt has written much. Besides discussing the various themes in the *Compendium*, and in his Apologetic Lectures, he has published a special lecture on the Resurrection; a brief commentary on the Book of Revelation, and a volume called *The Doctrine of the Last Things*. The

most interesting part of his eschatology is the teaching which bears upon the outcome of personal life. His treatment of the doctrine of the intermediate state suggests Martensen. In this world we lead a life largely objective, and we do not often get at ourselves. "Death casts us back upon ourselves and makes us tarry in our own presence." This does not constitute a second probation. "The decision takes place in this life." "Though the moral consciousness of man may seem to have been ever so slightly developed, though the life of an individual may have been passed in ever so dream-like a manner, there is still that in the depths of every man's heart which is decisive."

The life after death is, however, not complete without a body, the soul's "home and necessary instrument." Out of the resurrection comes this new body, "a new organism from the matter of the renewed world." It is not the same body, but truly connected with it. "It is the identity of the type which makes the substance taken up into a product of the germ." After the completion of the kingdom of Christ comes the final judgment, when all those who have resisted the call of God on earth are given over to perdition. "As truly as God is the Holy One, and as truly as his holiness can have no fellowship with sin, so truly is he who has chosen sin for his portion excluded from God, and from communion with him—in other words, lost. But to those who love God, he will be all in all, for Christ, his work finished, his completed Church now without blemish before the throne, will give this restored communion of God into the hands of the father, and he shall be their God, and they shall "serve him day and night in his temple, and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them."

There are and must be very different estimates of Dr. Luthardt. Some do not hesitate to say that the larger part of his power lies in his style, his clear, brilliant putting of common thoughts. He, they think, is to theology what our Longfellow was to poetry, whose "art was not so much a reconstruction out of crude material as a representation, a rearrangement, in his own exquisite language, of what he found and admired." But this judgment, that Dr. Luthardt is lacking in originality, is very superficial, and does not explain the man's great work. There is a sense in which he is a product of German scholarship. He has not the raw force found in

several American theologians. It is also true that he either has an instinct for style or pays much attention to his writing. Evidently, Blaise Pascal has been one of his fertilizers, and one at times wonders how much of the German's terse, striking utterance is due to the subtle influence of the greatest of Frenchmen. It is, however, too much to say that Dr. Luthardt is not an original thinker. He has not the daring, creative mind of a Robertson or a Bushnell. He seldom treats a separate doctrine with the penetration and suggestiveness of Martensen. Like Von Oosterzee, his power is in relating thoughts. There is an originality of the group, as well as an originality of the item, and the former is fairer, safer, more useful than the latter in serious thinking. Here, in grouping thoughts, Dr. Luthardt is very original. He can put doctrines over against each other; he can show their deeper relations better, probably, than any living German. His teaching is ever a system—there is always an eye to the final outcome. He sees theology as one grand whole. Were he to write a history of doctrine, it could not at points, perhaps, be entirely impartial, but it would present a system of theology coming down through the centuries as one mighty, moving whole. In dogmatics, his approach is unusually historical, and his progress through a period thick with heresies reminds one of a Lloyd steamship cutting a path through a storm with the sea-gulls screaming in the wild sky. On Luthardt goes; and by the time the student comprehends what the heresies are about, the argument has anchored in the most orthodox haven.

F. J. Winter, of Röbrsdorf, has analyzed Dr. Luthardt's theology, and finds in it a churchly stamp, and an appreciation of all human interests. Deeper yet, he finds ethical and historical characteristics. This estimate is true as far as it reaches. Dr. Luthardt is a high-church Lutheran, and says almost as much about the Church as would a Roman Catholic. He is also open to all the interests of life, and, at times, one is half startled at the way he makes nature and art tributary to theology. "He does not shut himself anxiously away from the world." He looks pleasantly upon science, and seems ever to smile and say to that side of the University, "Do your best to test my teaching!" He is also in a deep sense ethical. His tone is puritan to such a degree that now and then he appears to be as angry

as Miles Standish giving a challenge. He thinks all doctrine should tend to morality, not by seeking to be merely ethical, but by keeping close to the holiness of God. In a few places his statements are so severe as to fall almost forceless. He has, too, as already indicated, a keen historical sense. He likes facts. One of his favorite words, constantly used, is "*Thatsache*," and his other favorite word is "*Glaube*." Between these two, Fact and Belief, the objective and subjective, he moves easily and strongly. But all this does not fully yield the secret of the man's method. The key to his character and work is in his conception of redemption. To him redemption is God's supernatural plan for the salvation of the lost in the sacrifice and through the merits of Jesus Christ alone. In his lectures this idea is often so intense that it seems to be alive, and to walk among the words, and to seize them, and force them into larger meanings. It is this intense conception which colors all his treatment of doctrine. It is this which makes him narrow at points where German theology is usually loose and tolerant. It is this which sends him back past Schleiermacher, a confessionalist, to the old articles of faith. It is this which makes him a supernaturalist. He is not anti-rationalistic in the same easy way Cardinal Newman may be said to be so. He is anti-rationalistic because the plan of redemption is anti-rationalistic. The world is lost. Culture, science, philosophy cannot save us. So the Saviour comes down to us supernaturally, and becomes the center of truth, history, and even the center of God's entire relation to the race. This conception, this finding all theology lodged in Christology, is the deepest explanation of Dr. Luthardt's personality, position, and system of doctrine. As in the case of St. Paul, the natural man has become a new man in Jesus Christ our Lord. Once, standing in the University pulpit, looking out over the multitude of eager faces, he closed his sermon by uttering the secret of his great life. Over and over, as if he never could drop the sweet thought, he repeated the words, "*Jesus Christus allein—allein—allein—allein!*"

OLIN A. CURTIS.

Art. II.—WILLIAM MORLEY PUNSHON.

It is, we think, no exaggeration to say that, since the days of Whitefield no Methodist minister has addressed so many or such vast audiences as William Morley Punshon; and no one has swayed the multitudes with a more masterful spell of eloquence. They were not simple and uncultured crowds, like those who swarmed about the orator of early Methodism, who were thus moved. In no mean sense he was Whitefield's successor, and attracted, as we think no Methodist preacher attracted before, the refined, the cultured, and even the exclusive classes. It is true that the trembling plumes of court dames displayed their emotion under the spell of Whitefield's eloquence, no less than the tear-washed furrows on the grimy faces of the Cornish miners. But, though a Chesterfield or a Beau Nash might with courtly air compliment the marvelous preacher, yet of the world's great ones comparatively few received the word of life from his lips. While the "common people" heard Morley Punshon gladly, and were deeply moved by his message, people of the highest culture and of the most fastidious taste listened to him with equal eagerness and yielded to the spell of his power. Though not more abundant in labors than Wesley and Asbury, or more incessant in journeyings than they, yet the modern facilities of travel enabled him to cover vaster spaces in briefer time, and to crowd into weeks the achievements for which the pioneer preachers of Methodism required years. But the rapid rate at which he lived wore out all too soon his vital powers, and at an age at which they were hale and active he fell a victim to overwork. The long rides in the open air, the solitary communings with nature, the simpler social life and the lesser intellectual and nervous tension demanded by the religious services of the former period were all more conducive to bodily vigor and prolonged usefulness than the steam-engine-like speed at which we now live.

The life-record of William Morley Punshon is, in a sense, the history of English Methodism during a period of over thirty years. For he was a born leader of men, and even in his earlier years took his full part in the religious movements of the times. And those were times of marked religious prog-

ress and development—times of more flexible adaptation to the changed conditions of social and mental environment, during which the somewhat conservative Wesleyan body in England gave up with reluctance some of its old usages which may almost be said to have ossified into institutions. In urging these changes Dr. Punshon was always an effective force, and the wisdom of his course has been vindicated by the result.

For the study of this notable life the admirable biography by Mr. Macdonald and Professor Reynar furnishes ample material.* It is, what we think every good biography should be, largely autobiographic in its character. In the copious citations from his journals and letters Dr. Punshon is allowed to speak for himself. Like the "Confessions" of St. Augustine, they disclose the most sacred feelings of the soul. We learn from them how deep and tender were those sympathies which, with characteristic English reserve, he was disposed in life to veil from public gaze. These citations are often of painful interest. Though his life was very full of happiness and success, yet it was also one deeply blended with sorrow. As he pathetically says, "I have had tears to drink in great measure." Of an intensely domestic nature, few men have undergone so many bereavements. The outpourings of his soul under these sorrows reveal a heart wrung with anguish, yet clinging with the grasp of faith to the hand of infinite Tenderness that lifts up the broken-hearted and which shall wipe all tears away.

Yet we think that the biographer, in his effort to be frank and to let the minutely kept journal portray the inner life of Dr. Punshon, has to a certain degree conveyed an erroneous impression. Though there were in this life moments of deepest depression, yet there was about it nothing morbid. In the fullest sense Dr. Punshon's was a robust and manly piety. Few men ever more fully enjoyed what he called "the rapture of living." Few men ever had a keener sympathy with nature, or an intenser delight in art, and literature, and travel. Few could use as he the language of Wordsworth:

> "The sounding cataract
> Haunted me like a passion; the tall rock,
> The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,

* *The Life of William Morley Punshon, LL.D.* By Frederic W. Macdonald and Professor A. H. Reynar, M.A. 8vo, pp. 514. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

> Their colors and their forms, were then to me
> An appetite. . . . And I have felt
> A Presence that disturbs me with the joy
> Of elevated thoughts."

We have only one other exception to take to the general tone of this biography. We think that Mr. Macdonald has let the scholarly critic sit in too austere judgment on the literary quality of Dr. Punshon's work, especially of his popular lectures. These are to be judged by the effect produced upon the vast audiences to which they were addressed. Aided by the magnificent elocution and magnetic influence of the lecturer and the contagious enthusiasm of the spell-bound hearers, they swayed the multitude as the moon sways the tide. They were not designed for cold analysis under the critical scalpel. But even thus examined they merit, we think, higher praise than Mr. Macdonald has given them, and many passages will take their permanent place in literature as specimens of loftiest eloquence.

We do not here purpose to give even a condensed account of the life of Dr. Punshon, but merely to notice some of its more striking characteristics and salient incidents. He came of good Yorkshire Methodist stock, and was carefully trained by pious parents in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. His school life was over by his fourteenth year, at which age he entered a commercial house. The death of his much-loved mother led to his religious awakening and conversion. This was followed by an intellectual quickening; and the gifts and graces of the young convert were soon employed in the service of the Church. His first sermon was preached in his sixteenth year. He soon gave evidence of that affluence of diction, that fervid imagination, and that spiritual power by which his ministry was subsequently characterized. The boy preacher was followed by such crowds of eager admirers that he besought special grace to protect him from the sin of vanity. And not in vain he sought that grace, for a man who walked more humbly before God, even at the height of his popularity, has seldom been found. In due time he was proposed as a candidate for the Wesleyan ministry and sent to the Richmond Theological Institute. He had been there only a short time when he was sent down to a rural circuit in Kent. Here, at the very foot of the ladder, he devoted

himself with diligence and success to circuit work among the simple peasant folk. After his ordination he was appointed to the somewhat important station of Newcastle-on-Tyne. Here three happy years of wedded life were spent, when his growing influence and reputation led to his appointment to the busy manufacturing town of Sheffield. The fame of the young preacher had now reached the metropolis, where he was invited to speak at the May missionary meeting. This was a Connectional field day, and a whole month was devoted to the anniversaries of the great religious societies. It was a trying ordeal to speak before the "grave and reverend signiors" of the Connection, and the young preacher's feelings found expression in saying, "I exceedingly fear and quake." But he more than met the high expectations that had been raised, and thenceforth occupied the platform of Exeter Hall as by a royal right, and on many occasions swayed his scepter over thousands of willing hearts. He was soon after invited to lecture in that famous hall where so many of his triumphs were won. He broke away from the ancient traditions of the conventional lecture, and

> "In his hand
> The thing became a trumpet, whence he blew
> Soul-animating strains."

His lectures were designed not merely to please the fancy or to stir the emotions, but to arouse the conscience and ennoble the whole being. They were indeed platform sermons, and through their utterance many conversions are recorded. The very titles of his lectures indicate their moral purpose: "The Prophet of Horeb," "Daniel in Babylon," "Literature, Science, and Religion," and "John Wesley." Others recorded great religious or philanthropic movements, as, "The Huguenots," "Wilberforce," "The Men of the Mayflower," "Florence and its Memories." Even one of apparently quite secular interest, like that on Macaulay, was made to convey the loftiest moral teachings.

Apart from the exquisite English in which they were clothed, enriched, like a herald's tabard, with golden embroidery of simile and metaphor, one of the greatest charms of these lectures was the admirable elocution of their delivery. The orator's voice was not smooth, and at first was apt to be husky. But it was exquisitely modulated, and he had the art of bringing out a

hidden meaning by varying emphasis beyond any man we ever heard. His rendering of Macaulay's "Battle of Naseby," or "Horatius at the Bridge," was a rare treat. It was in the reading of the hymns in public worship especially that this art was shown. We heard him at a watch-night service give out the familiar hymn, "The arrow is flown;" the effect of the emphasis on the last word of the line, with the solemn pause that followed, was thrilling.

But all this lecturing was only an incident in his busy life. For many years he had charge of important circuits, and these had the first claim on his time and toil. In his circuit work he found his chief delight. The Rev. Hugh Johnston, B.D., who knew him well, says:

> He has often told me, with the tears in his eyes, that no joy in his ministry was equal to the joy that was given him in the conversion of souls. He hungered for this. No one who knew anything of his inner life could doubt the depth and genuineness of his devotion to God, or that he used his exceptional popularity in the service of his Master and for the highest good of men. He was deprived of all leisure and retirement, he had to live in public and amid constant excitements. He had always to meet high-pitched expectation, and was keyed up to the loftiest efforts; yet his piety was deep and fervent, and he constantly longed for the heart of purity and the tongue of fire. I have traveled with him thousands of miles on the swift rail, the steamer, the stage-coach, yet every-where he cultivated the spirit of prayer and quiet waiting upon God, and was in the regular habit of reading daily some book of devotion. Amid the perils of popularity his spiritual life was supported, and prayer was his constant resource.

His constant lecturing was not from his own choice, nor for his own emolument. He used his great gifts for the glory of God and the advancement of his cause. First he undertook to raise $5,000 for the relief of the old Spitalfields Chapel. Next he assumed the responsibility of securing $50,000 for the erection of Wesleyan chapels at the English watering-places, and as a result thirty-five chapels were built or enlarged, many of them of elegant architecture, at a cost of over $300,000. In the United States, it is true, he often received large sums for lecturing, but in every case some local interest was largely benefited. His private charities were numerous and generous. The first thing he did on coming to Canada was to subscribe

nearly twice the amount of his annual income toward the endowment of the Connectional university.

It is a reasonable estimate that he raised, altogether by means of his lectures, not less than $300,000 for various branches of Christian work. "But far beyond that must be considered the mental and moral stimulus given to tens of thousands of persons, a stimulus leading in numberless instances to higher and more fruitful living."

On leaving Sheffield his next appointments were Leeds and London, where he labored with ever-increasing success. At London came his first great sorrow since the death of his parents—the death of his wife. "Going to glory," were her parting words, as she "languished into life." "I pray," said the stricken husband, "that out of this sevenfold heated furnace I may emerge into a mightier and more successful ministry."

The strain of overwork demanding some relaxation, a brief holiday trip, one of many such, was made to the storied lands of the Continent. But his health was only partially restored by it, and he prepared, as "the offering of a year's enforced pause amid the activities of a busy ministry," his volume of *Sabbath Chimes*. This is a confessed imitation of Keble's *Christian Year;* but, while full of reflections devout, tender, and reverent, full of solace and inspiration, it lacks the fine poetic quality of that immortal work. He was the orator and not the poet, and his genius chafed under the restraints of metrical composition. Some of his lyrics, however, have taken a permanent place in literature. One fine one, of which we give a stanza, is incorporated in the Canadian Methodist hymn book:

Listen, the Master beseecheth,
Calling each one by his name;
His voice to each loving heart reacheth,
Its cheerfulest service to claim.
Go where the vineyard demandeth
Vinedresser's nurture and care;
Or go where the white harvest standeth,
The joy of the reaper to share.
Then work, brothers, work, let us slumber no longer;
For God's call to labor grows stronger and stronger;
The light of this life shall be darkened full soon,
But the light of the better life resteth at noon.

In 1867 came the request of the Canadian Conference that Mr. Punshon should be appointed its President, and the follow-

ing spring he came out to assume the duties of that office. His great reputation had preceded him, and the most cordial welcome awaited him. Nowhere was this more marked than in the United States, where he first landed and where he traveled very extensively. The very first evening after his landing found him in the St. Paul's Church prayer-meeting. "It had a good sound Methodist ring about it," he says, "and I augured well for the church whose inner life is thus healthy and abiding." The next day he preached at the opening of the Williamsburg church, and expresses his regret that instead of one church costing $200,000 five less expensive ones had not been built. He lived to change his mind on this subject, and became the prime mover in the erection of the equally expensive Metropolitan Church, Toronto.

His first official appearance in the United States was at the General Conference at Chicago as the representative of the British Conference. He was convinced, he said, of the "majesty of the Conference and of its enormous moral power." "There is a devotedness," he goes on to remark, "a oneness of purpose, a careless sense of freedom, a brotherly kindness, and an evident and self-sacrificing desire for the glory of Christ that are above all praise." Speaking of his reception by the bishops, he says, "I feel unworthy to be thus served by men at whose feet I would willingly sit, because of their experiences and successes in the Master's service."

The account of Dr. Punshon's five years' presidency of the Canadian Conference is written with graceful skill by Professor Reynar, of Victoria University, who became his son-in-law, and gives a full and accurate portraiture of his busy life during that period.

Shortly after his arrival in Canada he was married to Miss Vickers, the sister of his first wife. In his journal he gives very frankly the reasons which moved him to this step:

> My searchings of heart grew intenser until, clear and full, my duty rose before me, and I have been strengthened to do it. I deemed it my duty to marry Fanny Vickers, who has been for nine years the mother of my children, the only mother, indeed, whom two of them have ever known. In the fulfillment of this duty I had to make great sacrifices; to consent to be misjudged; to grieve some whom I love; to lay my account with a publicity given to my private affairs which is to me the heaviest cross of

the kind that I could be called to bear; to lose a position which had become assured by years of service; to trample upon love of country, with me a passion; to break up old friendships; to bear the imputation of motives which my soul scorns, and to bear it without answer; to found a new home in a new world, and, above all, to imperil my usefulness. Yet my convictions of duty have never wavered. I am happy in my wife's love and in my own strong assurance that I have done right. The Lord my God, whose guidance I have invoked, has not suffered me to be haunted by the shadow of a misgiving on this point... If I can wait, calmly wait, my righteousness shall be brought out as the light, and my judgment as the noonday. My convictions that the law forbidding marriage with the sister of a deceased wife is iniquitous and oppressive have been of many years' standing. I examined into and settled the matter with myself before I had thought that I should ever be personally involved in its application.

As in our free country no law intervened, he made a new home under the happiest auspices. And what a home that was! How full it was of Christian joy and gladness only those knew who were privileged to enter its happy circle. Mrs. Punshon's was a simple, sunny-hearted piety. She threw herself with zest into church life and church work, and made herself beloved by all who knew her.

But before two years had passed a second great affliction fell with crushing weight upon this man of many sorrows. After a few hours' illness, his devoted wife was summoned from his side, and his home was once more left desolate. In the bitterness of his grief he writes in his journal:

> How shall I set down the awful experience of a week that has changed the whole aspect of the future? I am bereft.... I am bereft.... Stricken from the height of happiness and hope to the depth of a darkness which God only can enlighten, which God only can help me to bear. The desire of mine eyes was taken away at a stroke. O, my God, my God, I believe that in faithfulness hast thou afflicted me. ... But the sense of loneliness and sorrow... I grieve, I wonder, but I do not rebel.... I can but say under the stroke, "It is the Lord.... Thy waves and thy billows are gone over me;" but they are *thy* waves, and I must let them sweep, waiting till thou shalt tell, in the fullness of a clearer vision, *why* they sweep over me.

But, under the shadow of this great trial, he girded his loins anew for the duties of life, that, as he says, in the sight of others, "My darkened ways may fill with music all the same." He plunged into hard work—work akin to that of Asbury

and Whitefield a hundred years ago. We quote from his journal:

A hard week through the backwoods, over dreadful roads and in inhospitable weather; but work is my diversion from a brooding that might become anguish.

My days are filled with honest work, incessant travel, a constant trust in God, and an intense desire that not a shred of the intended benefit of this great sorrow may be lost out of my own heart.

To the praise of the Divine Glory I state that I have not yet rebelled—though unutterably sad and lonely. I will, can, do praise God all through.

He traveled also much in the United States, and became familiar with that great country from Maine to California, and from the great lakes to the gulf of Mexico. During a visit to Salt Lake City he had the good taste to refuse to be presented to Brigham Young. He preached in the evening in an upper room to a motley congregation of three hundred persons. Among them was Orson Pratt's first wife, a pale, crushed creature, out of whose heart the joy of life had been trampled by the abominable system of polygamy.

An idea of his busy life may be gathered from the following extract from his journal:

Friday I traveled three hundred miles to Albany, and lectured in the evening; Sunday, preached to about two thousand people; Monday, I traveled one hundred and fifty miles through snow and sleet, and lectured at Syracuse; Tuesday, I traveled two hundred miles, and lectured at Hamilton; yesterday, I traveled one hundred miles, and lectured at London; to-day, I came one hundred and twenty miles home.

At the General Conference of 1872, held in Brooklyn, Dr. Punshon was the representative of the Canadian Methodist Church. And right royally did he discharge his trust. It was a trying ordeal. He had to follow some of the foremost men of other Churches. Expectation was at its highest. But he was equal to the occasion. There were in his fraternal greetings a warmth and sincerity that touched every heart, and in his review of contemporary Methodism a sweep and grandeur that impressed every mind. But he was at his best when he came to bear his tribute to the heroes who had fallen since the previous General Conference. There was about his words a pathos and an unction that brought tears to many eyes and shouts of

"Hallelujah!" from many parts of the house. I quote a paragraph or two from that soul-stirring address:

My heart would reproach me were I to sit down without one other reference. . . . I seem to see the standard-bearers you have lost; standard-bearers to whom God had given a banner, that it might be displayed because of the truth, and who were worthy of the trust confided in them. . . .

Bishop Simpson, I think of your colleagues in office who have been smitten at your side: Baker, the distinguished jurist; and Clark, the acute and able administrator, and preacher of commanding power; and Thomson, the Chrysostom of your Church, whose large child-like spirit could not harbor a thought of guile; and Kingsley, the brave and brotherly, snatched away from you in the fullness of his ripe manhood, and as if the sight of the Holy Land had but whetted his desire to go upward to the Holy Place, that from the track of the Man of sorrows he might see the King in his beauty.

And then I think of others, lower in office but equal in esteem: of Mattison, who first welcomed me in Jersey City, a doughty champion against the man of sin; of Sewall, a burning and shining light, quenched, perhaps by its own brightness, all too soon; of John McClintock, that *anax andron*, almost an Admirable Crichton in versatility of attainment, a Melanchthon in tenderness, and a Luther in courage; and of Nadal, who drooped so soon after his friend that it seemed as if he had got to long so much after nearer communion that he must needs ascend to join him in the presence of the Master whom they both loved.

And I think of a later loss than these: a blameless and beautiful character [Alfred Cookman], who went home like a plumed warrior, for whom the everlasting doors were opened as he was stricken into victory in his prime, and who had nothing to do at the last but to mount into the chariot of Israel and go "sweeping through the gates, washed in the blood of the Lamb."

Sirs, these are no common losses. I weep with you on account of them; and I am qualified to weep with you, for a sword hath pierced into my own soul also, and I have borne my own burden of loss and sorrow. But these your comrades fell in hallowed work on hallowed ground. Bravely they bore the banners while they lived, but the nerveless hand relaxed its hold, and they have passed them on to others.

The following Sunday he preached in the same place to an audience of four thousand. He describes it as one of the great occasions of his life. The present writer heard on that day three of the greatest preachers then living—Beecher, Gavazzi, and Punshon—and in his judgment, for power to move and thrill and inspire the soul, the last was without his peer. But

few persons imagined at what cost those supreme efforts were made—the nervous trepidation, the almost agony of body, the apprehensions of fainting or of sudden death by which they were preceded, and the utter lassitude by which they were followed. On one occasion, while preaching before the Canadian Conference at Montreal, Dr. Punshon was completely overpowered, and had to sit down in the pulpit. Dr. Bowman Stevenson took his manuscript and read it with fluency and vigor for fifteen minutes, and then the great orator resumed his task and finished the sermon.

We believe that one cause of the great mental strain under which Dr. Punshon labored, if not indeed a conducing cause of his comparatively early death, was his peculiar mode of pulpit and platform preparation. He used to memorize *verbatim* and then deliver the speech or sermon with prodigious energy. It is true he had an extraordinary memory, but still the effort to carry on a double process in the mind must be more exhaustive than when the orator is borne along by the inspiration of the occasion and of his subject. A certain *curiosa felicitas* of style must be sacrificed in the *extempore* method; but if one is full of his subject—is *possessed* by his subject—he will rise, we think, to greater heights of inspiration, and will sweep the feelings of the multitude with a more resistless power, than by any *memoriter* effort.

Dr. Punshon's active and successful ministry in Canada lasted five years: during that time he gave Methodism a vast impulse in this country, indeed, "sent it forward half a century," as a leading Canadian expressed it. Among the results of his leadership are the inauguration of our first foreign mission, that to Japan, which has been signally successful. Our extensive missions to the Indian tribes and to the French population we do not call foreign work. Another great achievement was the union of the Wesleyan with the New Connection Church, and with that in the Maritime Provinces—earnest of the more comprehensive union of all the Methodisms of the Dominion into one Church. The cause of higher education also received a great impulse from his labors, in raising an endowment for Victoria University, and in the establishment of theological colleges. Not least was the great impulse given to church extension and to our home mission work. The erection of

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the Metropolitan Church in Toronto—said to be the handsomest Methodist church in the world—gave a great impulse to a higher type of ecclesiastical architecture throughout the country.

Before returning to England Dr. Punshon made an extensive tour through the United States, enjoying every-where the most hospitable courtesies, and rendering important aid to religious objects. He preached at the dedication of the elegant Mount Vernon Place Church, Baltimore, and before President Grant and a number of notables at the Metropolitan Church, Washington. At Savannah he followed, "*haud passibus æquis*," he says, in the footsteps of John Wesley. He preached on a Mississippi steamboat to the gayest company he had ever seen. They had masqueraded in *Mardi Gras* costumes and danced till midnight on Saturday; but though mostly Roman Catholics they listened with the greatest attention, and let us hope with profit, to a faithful discourse from the distinguished Protestant divine. Dr. Punshon mentions with especial gratification a very pleasant interview he had with the poet Longfellow. He resisted some very tempting invitations to leading pulpits in the United States, and the offer from the Ontario government of the chair of moral-philosophy in the Provincial University. He left Canada, he says, with as much regret as he had previously left England. He gave another proof of his disinterestedness by declining to accept a donation of $4,000 except on the condition that it should be invested in Canada for the benefit of the Worn-out Ministers' Fund, he to receive only the interest of it during his life. He left with us abiding memories of the greatness of his character, the consecration of his life, and the inspiration of his spoken and written word.

Scarcely had he reached England when another stroke of sorrow wounded him—the death of his only daughter, the wife of the Rev. Professor Reynar, of Victoria University. Canada was thenceforth doubly dear to him by reason of the two precious graves which it contained.

No contrast could be greater than that from the superintendency of a church occupying half a continent to the charge of the single station of Kensington, to which, with characteristic zeal, he devoted himself. But his administrative abilities, which were as remarkable as his pulpit eloquence, were to find ampler employment, and the following year he was elected to the high-

est office of English Methodism, the presidency of the Conference. As a proof of the love and confidence of his brethren he prized this highly, though pre-eminence of office in the Methodist minstry is chiefly pre-eminence of toil. The highest in rank in the Methodist Church becomes, in fact, what the Pope of Rome is only by official title—"*servus servorum Dei.*" While broad and catholic in his sympathies, Dr. Punshon was above all things a loyal Methodist. The commanding influence of Methodism in the New World doubtless strengthened his conviction of its providential mission. In his presidential address he thus speaks of the status of his own Church:

> We have reason to be thankful for the position which God has given us as a Church. We hold to the doctrines of our fathers, which are also, we believe, the doctrines of the word.... We have a church order as effective as the most seemly, and a church life as vigorous as the most free. . . . And chiefest of all—that without which all else would be valueless—the ark is still in our temples, and the Lord still visits us from on high.
>
> The longer I live the less I am disposed to call fire from heaven upon any. We cannot afford to be intolerant in our treatment of intolerance. We cannot afford to trample upon pride with greater pride.... We believe that we are a Church of God's making. We are content with our position. We believe it can be scripturally sustained. We have no unfriendliness to other Churches. We do not wish to build ourselves upon their ruins. It is no joy to us that there are among them irritations of feeling and lapses from faith. But we will not be moved from the position in which we believe God has placed us.

As president his official duties were numerous and heavy. Never were his public addresses more masterly and impressive. Even the somewhat exclusive Established Church gave them generous recognition. The Archbishop of Canterbury wrote thanking him for his Bible Society address and urging its publication.

He had no sympathy with any "new theology" or departure from the old-fashioned teachings of Methodism. In his address at the close of his presidency he thus speaks on the maintenance of "sound doctrine:"

> Brethren, it is needful that you be strong in faith yourselves, that you have a firm grasp of the "faith once delivered to the saints," if you are to grapple with the difficulties of your position and become wise winners of souls. If you falter or hesitate, or fence the truth about with your reserves and your misgiv-

ings, like an Agag who "comes delicately," what impression are you likely to make upon your hearers? Men's *opinions* are but as the threads of the gossamer. Men's *convictions* are the powers that shake the world. . . . Men declaim foolishly enough about dogmatic teaching. You *must* dogmatize when men are dying and you are sent to them with the "words of eternal life."

At this Conference Dr. Punshon was elected to the office of Missionary Secretary, made vacant by the death of Dr. Wiseman, which office he held for the remainder of his life. It was the fitting climax of his life-work. For thirty years he had been the foremost speaker on the missionary platform, and had been in keenest sympathy with missions. Hence his administrative skill in the office was an admirable complement of his eloquence on the platform. He took also an active part in the movements whereby British Wesleyanism adapted itself to the changed environment and conditions of these latter days. Prominent among these was the adoption by the Conference of 1876 of lay representation. Some of the ablest and most honored members of the Conference strongly opposed the movement. But here again Dr. Punshon's American and Canadian experience came to his assistance, and he became the leader of the movement. After a protracted and vigorous debate the principle was carried by a vote of 369 to 49. It is difficult now to realize the opposition and fears to which this movement gave rise. But without a shock or a strain the principle went into effect with manifest advantage to church life and church work.

> "The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
> And God fulfills himself in many ways."

Never was Dr. Punshon's work more congenial than during the few remaining years of his life. Settled once more in a happy home—for he had married again shortly after his return to England—and surrounded by "love, obedience, troops of friends." But the entries in his journal give increasing evidences of ill health. He was reaping the "harvest of weariness and pain from the prodigal expenditure of himself in former years." Public speaking caused increased effort and was followed by increased depression. One of his latest formal addresses was that on "Oxford under Two Queens"—Queen Mary and Queen Victoria—delivered in the old scholastic city at the

meeting of the Evangelical Alliance. In it the old fire flamed forth, especially in his glowing tribute to the Oxford martyrs:

Every imprisoned apostle, every reviled confessor is our witness; every Huguenot in the dungeon, every Lollard at the stake is our witness; every Puritan hounded through the glen, and every Covenanter chased among the heather is our witness; every Christian slave done to death by his oppressor, every missionary butchered in his holy toil, every martyr soaring heavenward in his shroud of flame is our witness that "we have not followed cunningly devised fables," and that our faith stands "not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God."

A Connectional movement with which Dr. Punshon was in deep sympathy, and the last in which he took active part, was the raising of a "thanksgiving fund" to pay off the Missionary Society's debt, and to aid other Connectional interests. The amount aimed at was $1,000,000. The amount raised was $1,500,000.

In his domestic life sorrow followed sorrow. Among these was the death of his eldest son, a young man of brilliant promise. We quote again from the journal:

I am in the depths, ... compelled to go softly; but there is an arm around me, and it holds me up. . . . I need a great deal of humbling. Surely this heart of mine must have worn its pride high, when such rude blows are needed to "break the crown" of it.

He made successive trips to the Continent, in part to visit the Wesleyan Mission stations, and in part to seek recuperation of strength; but he felt that he walked on the very verge of the other world. At Metz he writes:

During the day my thoughts went back full often to the past;

"And thought I often of the dead,
The precious living loved not less;
For they the golden streets who tread
Look, not to envy, but to bless."

The Rev. William Arthur writes of a visit made to the porcelain factory at Vallauris. As the potter out of his lump evolved form after form, the invalid watched intently till the tears ran down his cheeks, and then quoted in his own telling tones the verse:

"Mold as thou wilt my passive clay."

It was his last journey. At Mentone he was taken dangerously ill. His London physician was sent for, and with a Canadian friend, the Rev. Hugh Johnston, accompanied him by slow stages home. He lingered but a few days. At the midnight hour the summons came. "Am I going, doctor?" he asked the physician. "Yes," was the answer. "Have you a message for me, my darling?" asked his devoted wife. "I have loved you fondly," he said; "love Jesus, meet me in heaven." Then with a reverent tone he added, "Christ is to me a bright reality. Jesus, Jesus!" "There was a smile of kindling rapture, then his head drooped, and William Morley Punshon was no more." He died April 14, 1881, in his fifty-seventh year.

His death was a loss not to Methodism alone, but to our common Christianity. Canon Fleming wrote, "He belonged to us all, but now he belongs to Christ forever." Charles H. Spurgeon wrote, "The entire Church laments its grievous bereavement. He who stood foremost as a standard-bearer is fallen. Yet, thank God, he is taken from us without a spot on his escutcheon."

With no better words can we close this brief review of his life than with the following lines from his own "Pilgrim Song:"

"Offer thy life on the altar,
In the high purpose be strong;
And if the tired spirit should falter,
Then sweeten thy labor with song.
What if the poor heart complaineth?
Soon shall its wailing be o'er;
For then in 'the rest that remaineth,'
It shall grieve and be weary no more.
Then work, brothers, work; let us slumber no longer,
For God's call to labor grows stronger and stronger;
The light of this life shall be darkened full soon,
But the light of the better life resteth at noon."

W. H. Withrow.

Art. III.—RELIGION AND FANATICISM.

"In religion,
What . . . error but some sober brow
Will bless it, and approve it with a text,
Hiding the grossness with fair ornament?"—*Shakespeare.*

Isaac Taylor, in his treatise on *Fanaticism*, originally published in 1833 as a sequel to his *Natural History of Enthusiasm*, says:

We believe that the elementary idea attaching to the term fanaticism in its manifold applications is that of fictitious fervor in religion, rendered turbulent, morose, or rancorous by a junction with some one or more of the malign emotions. Fanaticism is enthusiasm inflamed by hatred.

The false religion of the fanatic includes elements not known to the mere enthusiast. They may be reduced to three articles: 1. A deference or religious regard to malign invisible powers, whether supreme or subordinate. 2. Rancorous contempt or detestation of the mass of mankind, as religiously cursed and abominable. 3. The belief in corrupt favoritism on the part of the Invisible Power toward a sect or class of men; this partiality being the antithesis of that relentless tyranny of which all other men are objects.

At first reading this definition seems too severe, and, therefore, exclusive of certain phases of religious life which may justly be denominated fanatical. Indeed, our author says:

Mixed or mitigated examples of fanaticism present themselves on all sides; but cases of pure fanaticism, our definition being kept in view, are rare; or, rather, are not readily separated from those dispositions with which it naturally consorts.

The reviewers, too, were prompt to criticise his theory. *Fraser's Magazine* pronounced it "contracted," and said:

Fanaticism has existed only because it was necessary. It is the witness of the antagonism which ever subsists between flesh and spirit. If it show itself in these times its existence should lead us to inquire the cause. Perhaps some truth has fallen into abeyance and has dawned anew on a few minds; in such we shall expect to see the accustomed forceful exhibition of strong passions, . . . but this violent exhibition is but for a day.

A fanatic is a mystic who conceives the workings of his own mind to be testificatory of the truth of opinion as correlated to permanent realities; and, prompted by some passion, or, it may be, by an uneasy and self-doubting state of mind, seeks confirma-

tion in outward sympathy, and, consequently, to impose his faith on the generality of mankind; to collect, in fact, a swarm and cluster (*circum fana*) around the new fanes, at which he is the self-constituted high-priest.

The *Edinburgh Review* said, in its oracular way:

Although the author professes to have in view the accomplishment of a great task, no less than to describe and define all the various forms of spurious religious sentiment in a series of works; yet in this, as in his former publications, we find no traces of any endeavor to analyze the emotions which produce them. He keeps aloof from all the real difficulties of the subject, and parades the weapons of his argument in a contest with chimeras of his own creating. He is terrified by the aspect of the abyss which analysis opens before him; and whenever he touches a vital point he immediately avoids it under cover of a few dogmatical sentences.

Despite these animadversions, Taylor's work is still quoted with tacit approval by the compilers of the best theological dictionaries and encyclopedias; and, though old, is not yet obsolete, as may be seen by reference to Hurst's *Bibliotheca Theologica*. Blunt, in his *Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology*, refers to it, and in his treatment of the whole subject says:

Fanaticism must be clearly distinguished from enthusiasm. . . . Enthusiasm may be animated by the pure love of God and man, whereas fanaticism is fired with the worst passions, and with an object in a certain sense good, the means of attaining it may be hateful.

It also furnishes the essential material for the article on "Fanaticism" in M'Clintock and Strong's *Encyclopedia* and the Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopedia*.

Taylor, however, is not the only one who has attempted to define the causes of abnormal developments of mind under the influence of what we may characterize as the esoteric doctrines of Christianity. Forty-four years before the *Fanaticism* was published, the Abbé Bergier wrote a *Dictionnaire de Théologie*, in which, under the head of "Fanatisme," he says:

A fanatic is a man who thinks himself inspired by God in all that he does; his zeal for his religion becoming fanaticism when there is a passion developed capable of making him commit crimes from a religious motive. . . . It will not be very difficult for us to show that the passions are the same, and produce the

same effect, in those who have a religion and those who have none. It is *pride*, without doubt, which persuades an ardent spirit that he understands better than another the dogmas and the morals of religion; *pride* which inspires him with hatred against those who contradict him; *pride* which makes him believe that his excesses and fury are an essential service which he renders to religion; *pride* which makes him believe that he is working for religion when, in fact, he only seeks to satisfy himself.

Naville, in his *Problem of Evil*, writes in the same tone of thought:

> Fanaticism proper—that which is intolerant and proscriptive—consists in believing that the will of God may be separated from the good, and that evil may be done to promote the cause of God.

Vinet also says:

> Under whatever form fanaticism may present itself, it is never the offspring of love. The love of Jesus, that is to say, the love of truth and virtue realized, can only lead to virtue and truth. Be on your guard against imagination, pride, and self will; these are the sources of fanaticism.

By combination of the essential elements of these various conceptions, and as the result of a study of deviations of the religious sentiment, fanaticism may be defined as egotism intensified by a sense of the divine favor, which, in the name of immediate divine inspirations, not only subordinates those of all others to its own afflatus, but, also, in its extreme development, violates law by censoriousness, hate, and even specific acts of crime. Beginning with a claim to special knowledge of the divine will, it develops into a contemptuous excision of the unsympathetic from all rights of spiritual fraternity; then, if not eliminated from the spirit, into a demand for worship, which, if not complied with, is made the ground of a coercive crusade, not, perhaps, with sword and scourge, but with malignantly critical and condemnatory tongue, and finally into courses of conduct condemned alike by Decalogue, Sermon on the Mount, and conscience.

It is apparent, however, that there cannot be fanaticism in any life unless there is a precedent religion animated by a passionate desire to realize the ideal of holy life and to propagate truths conceived to be essential to the spiritual welfare of humanity. A mere formalist, droning a ritual, is in no immediate danger

of becoming a fanatic; much less, a man who disbelieves the profession of spiritual earnestness made by others whom he perhaps regards as visionaries, or who is in suspense of opinion as to the credibility of the Bible. To put the thought paradoxically, only a man of religion can become a fanatic, but a fanatic is not a man of religion; only a religious enthusiast can become a religious fanatic, but a so-called religious fanatic is never a true enthusiast.

Thus, fanaticism in the Church, while it may be the subsequent of an intense spirituality, is not its legitimate product, but is the effect of an egotistic attempt to define and arbitrarily enforce the ultimates of religious truth as they apply to the details of conduct, and this, too, either without use of Scripture or in contempt of its evident meaning; or it is a desire to act as God's vicegerent abnormally developed by morbid introspection and gross literalization of those biblical passages which teach the doctrine of the Christian man's oneness with God in Christ; or, in its ultimate form, it is malevolence or sensualism, wearing the vestments of the sanctuary in the service of Satan.

"The great art of the devil and the principal deceit of the heart," says Robert South, "is to put a trick upon the command, and to keep fair with God himself when falling foul upon his laws."

This being true, it will readily be seen how easily Scripture and theology may be perverted in support of a selfish ambition to eclipse others in the ecstasies and illuminations of a higher spiritual life; or of a desire, pardonable in itself, to be delivered by the interposition of God from the agonies of a ceaseless pain or the effects of disease; or even of a malicious or sensual impulse, a text being placed like a fair ornament on the false brow of crime. The history of fanaticism, therefore, is the history of perverted Scripture; and if, as Renan says, "the history of the Christian Church is the history of an endless controversy," it is because her beneficent precepts have been ceaselessly assailed by malice and corrupted by her faithless votaries. To rehearse these annals would require the study of the aberrations of the religious sentiment for a period too long to be comprehended within the limits of a review article; I direct attention, therefore, to some of the forms of fanaticism which, though they have appeared in our own century, are only there pro-

ductions of antecedent phases of corrupted faith. They may be classified as, 1. The fanaticism of arbitrary favoritism. 2. The fanaticism of unwarranted faith. 3. The fanaticism of non-scriptural identification with God. 4. The fanaticism of unchastity, based on false distinctions between sin in the "flesh" and sin in the "spirit." These are not, of course, of equal moral turpitude, but are all alike phases of that pride latent in human nature, that intolerant, proscriptive spirit, that uneradicated sensuality which, in the name of religion, violates some ethical precept, minor or major, as the case may be.

1. The fanaticism of arbitrary favoritism is the direct product of an exaggerated self-esteem, and is the perversion of essential and characteristic elements of Christian life—the immediate witness of the Holy Ghost to the sonship of the believer in Christ, and the doctrine of special providence. It shows itself to be fanaticism, and not a legitimate sense of personal relation to God, by degenerating into what Taylor calls "a rancorous contempt and detestation of the mass of mankind as religiously cursed and abominable;" and, more particularly, by a most unnatural evasion of the duties based upon the family and social relations; husband or wife, for example, attaining such a height of sanctity as to ignore the other as a spiritual inferior, or even to propose separation on the ground of incompatibility; parent or child treating the other with supercilious indifference as unsanctified, and therefore unworthy of spiritual recognition or affiliation.

Claiming extra-scriptural revelations, the fanatic who regards himself as a favorite of the Almighty may (and in some cases actually does) reject the Bible as "the letter which killeth;" a primer in religion for those who live on the lower planes of spiritual experience, but of no value to himself. He quite ignores theologians as being mere bookworms, but invariably claims for himself the right to teach, as being in special illumination of mind; and employs his unique powers, not in the spirit of a true apostle, humble and patient, but in the haughty mood of an autocrat. As a result, he excites antagonism, and, failing in his propagandism, becomes a mere snarling cynic—if he does not sink still lower.

2. The fanaticism of unauthorized faith consists in the misapplication of divine promises to the affairs of practical life,

and so in a praying which, because it is without warrant of specific promise, cannot be answered. It finds manifestation among other forms, in the so-called "faith-cure" movement—a movement with the professed objects of which one cannot but have sympathy, which yet must be condemned because based on a false interpretation of Scripture, and productive of factitious hopes among innumerable invalids who lie in the weakness of chronic disease in silent chambers of many a Christian home or in still wards of hospitals. It is a tantalizing mirage, whose fading only mocks suffering, patience, and faith. That my charge against this programme of divine healing in response to prayer may not be discredited, I transcribe an extract from the authorized report of a faith-healing convention held in Chicago in December, 1885.

A Question Drawer having been adopted as one of the features of its sessions, the following inquiries were read and answered:

Question. If God did not intend men to be healed by medicine and doctors why did he place so many healing herbs and minerals within the reach of all?

Answer. God has sent these things for *sinners*, as he did not intend to deprive them of all comfort and hope of relief.

Quest. Does all sickness come from Satan?

Ans. It does; and is to be traced directly or indirectly to sin; not always to the sufferer, however.

Quest. Is not medicine a blessing from God?

Ans. Yes; for *unbelievers:* not for believers, who have the Great Physician.

Quest. Should a sick person dismiss his physician and throw away all medicine?

Ans. I would deal with God honestly; not pretend to rely upon him while relying on some one else.

Quest. Is it necessary that a person should be anointed with oil in order to be healed?

Ans. It is God's own prescription, and though some have been healed without oil, it is best to do his way.

An anointing service was then held, and one hundred and thirty ailing mortals, having been duly instructed, were publicly "anointed;" the account does not state that they were healed. Now, the fanatic-spirit exhibits itself throughout this entire procedure in the reiterated insinuation that professing Christians are but sinners and infidels unless they banish physic and physician from the sick-room, and use only faith internally

and oil externally. More than that, the anointer perverted the words of Saint James, either ignorantly, and therefore inexcusably, or wilfully, and therefore culpably; for it is well known that in the Orient, in the times of the apostle, oil was employed as a curative, being vigorously rubbed into the body of the patient, and not merely applied to the forehead on the tip of a finger. The famous text *in loco*, therefore, is in support of a religious use of remedial agents, and not in support of restoration to health by faith, the anointers in the name of the Lord being witnesses against themselves in that they admit the necessity of using oil as a material medium—let us say, medical medium—between God and the invalid.

Still more, there is palpable dishonesty in announcing "cures" before sufficient time has elapsed to test them, or in spite of the adverse testimony of the patient's senses; and also in suppressing irreconcilable facts, such as "anointings" which never heal, and "healings" succeeded by relapses. For instance, the writer had the acquaintance of a lady whose sincerity was above question, who at one time claimed to be healed and preserved in health by the exercise of faith, and was so persistent in urging invalids to trust God for healing as to be intolerant. Subsequently she became hopelessly ill, but, though still believing God, no longer expected a supernatural restoration, and, indeed, even requested her physician to alleviate her suffering by the administration of opiates. Her original "faith-healing" was announced, but not her relapse; and what is true of her case is true of others. Besides, cures are frequently attributed by these advocates of divine healing to the action of faith when they are, in fact, only the natural effects of ordinary causes.

3. The third form of fanaticism, self-apotheosis, has its Scripture basis in those texts which teach the doctrine of divine indwelling in the ideal Christian. Spiritually interpreted, they are among the profoundest verities of Christian theology; but literally construed, they become absurdities. We are not surprised, for instance, to read that poor Thom, who, in the early days of the Chartist movement in England claimed to be Messiah, had been an inmate of an insane asylum; and though Anna Meister, who claimed to be the Holy Ghost, was pronounced sane by competent authorities, we cannot but feel that, if not daft, she was guilty of blasphemy.

There are, of course, other cases of self-claimed identification with God, but they are usually enveloped in such mystery that it is impossible, as the writer has found, to ascertain the facts; contradictory statements emanating from the members of the coterie in which, it is said, the self-deified is worshiped, or, at least, venerated for a perfect and ineffable union with the Divine Being.

4. The fanaticism of a false distinction between sin in the "flesh" and sin in the "spirit" has borne baneful fruit in this nineteenth Christian century; and we have been taught anew to what base uses the word "religious" may be put by canting schismatics, wily sensualists, and unprincipled schemers.

Plymouth Brethrenism, with its bitter antagonism to "Church;" Muckerism, with its sensualism sanctified by piety; Agapemonianism, fair in form, but foul in spirit; Bible Communism, based on the doctrines of salvation from all sin, reconciliation with God, and the equality of man, but built of complex marriage and abolition of prayer, united worship and the Sabbath; Nazaritism, inaugurated as a crusade against pride and ecclesiastical power, lapsing into adulteries committed by permission of God—these are the repulsive forms of nineteenth century fanaticism, of which he who desires may read the dismal history in various books, and of which we may say in the fine words of the great bard:

> "The even mead that erst brought sweetly forth
> The freckled cowslip, burnet, and green clover,
> Wanting the scythe, all uncorrected, rank,
> Conceives by idleness, and nothing teems
> But hateful docks, rough thistles, kecksies, burs."

Fanaticism in the Church is religious fervor, intense but fictitious, "all uncorrected, rank," "wanting the scythe." It is therefore the prime and imperative duty of the individual member of the body ecclesiastic to swing the scythe of an incisive self examination over the "even mead" of his spirit, lest it breed the "hateful docks, rough thistles, kecksies, and burs" of pride, self-will, and sensual imaginings; and if they appear it is his duty to others as well as to himself to cut them out by the root—to the last growing fiber—lest their noxious seeds be borne into the lives of others, and produce an unsightly harvest vest of spreading evil.

Incipient fanaticism may be cured, it has seemed to me, by engaging the erratic member of the congregation in efforts for the alleviation of suffering among the poor, in the instruction of the illiterate in the principles of religion, in endeavors to rescue the tempted and fallen by the genial offices of sympathetic appeal and creation of opportunities for reformation, and by incidental as well as by direct teaching that there is no religion which is not obedience to the plain precepts of law and Gospel, and that, to use the wise words of John Locke, "When reason or Scripture is authority for any opinion or action we may receive it as divine; but it is not the strength of our own persuasion which can by itself give it that stamp."

When, however, the fanatic becomes a schismatic it is necessary to deal with him, not in the spirit of dictatorial disciplinarianism, but in the exercise of powers essential to the preservation of unity; the pastor, as administrator of ecclesiastical law, being also a shepherd and restorer of souls, ceasing his efforts to regain the aberrant believer only when all circumstances prevent their further continuance.

Even when the fanatic has become a criminal, and liable to the penalties of the civil law, it is still the office of the Gospel minister to labor for the cure of his fanaticism by warning and faithful appeal to reason and conscience, with offered conditions of pardon; these being the methods employed in all cases of criminality, even in the shadow of the scaffold—the law taking its course with the criminal, but the Gospel endeavoring to have its way with his conscience.

Let it be taught, then, in all pulpits, that an humble walking with God is man's true life; so shall he avoid the Scylla rock of formalism on the one hand, and the Charybdis whirlpool of fanaticism on the other. GEORGE MILTON HAMMELL.

[NOTE.—In some of its phases fanaticism is a mental as well as a moral aberration, and may be so treated. In this paper, however, the subject is discussed solely in its ethical and religious aspects.]

Art. IV.—THE NEW AFRICA:—II. ITS DISCOVERY COMPLETED.*

Since the discovery and settlement of America, the next, and last, and greatest remaining achievement in man's conquest of the globe has been the discovery and opening up of inner Africa. All Arctic and circumpolar exploration sinks into insignificance compared with this unfolding of a colossal new realm for human development. We are to-day in the midst of the march of this great event, and near its culmination. In a previous paper we have glanced at some of the leading pioneer investigators of the great problem, and approached the great solution itself. But man, like nature, does nothing at a leap. There is dawn before day, spring before summer, childhood before manhood. Africa was like a "ring-cake." Many explorers had nibbled all around its edges, and chipped away some large slices here and there, but still the cake awaited the bold, strong hand that should drive the knife through its center, and find the ring hidden there. And even then there were three other rings left: one in each half of the cake, to the north and the south of the central cut, which have since been found; and still another, on the plateau west of the great lakes, where Stanley was last heard from, yet remains to be discovered.

The Egyptians under Necho, as related by Herodotus, explored both the eastern and the western coasts to the neighborhood of the equator, to where "their shadows fell to the south" at summer noonday. And they went up the Nile as far as the Ethiopians ruled, and Ptolemy's map of the Nile lakes is aston-

* *Discoveries in North and Central Africa.* By Henry Barth, Ph.D., D.C.L. 3 vols. 8vo. Maps and Cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Across Africa. By Commander Cameron, R. N. 1 vol. 8vo. Maps and Cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Through the Dark Continent. By Henry M. Stanley. 2 vols. 8vo. Maps and Cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Congo, and the Founding of its Free State. A Story of Work and Exploration. By Henry M. Stanley. 2 vols. 8vo. Maps, Charts, and Cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Journal Royal Geographical Society, 1853.

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Missionary Herald, London (Baptist monthly), 1885, '86, '87.

Science (Weekly.) New York, 1887, 1888.

ishingly correct now. The Carthaginians apparently crossed the desert to the Niger, or to Lake Tchad; and their great Admiral Hanno's voyage down the Atlantic coast to Guinea has left us his log-book, the *Periplus*, the only complete and unquestionable piece of Carthaginian literature which survives from that once great people. The Persians under Cambyses tried the conquest of Ethiopia, but the mighty Ethiopian bows and the mightier desert turned them back, after narrowly escaping destruction. The two centurions of Nero led the world-conquering Roman to Abyssinia and up the White Nile to the "Sudd;" and his sculptured arches stand to-day among the sands of Fezzan; but he got no further. The Portuguese at last circumnavigated the continent, and held nearly all its coast from Cape Verde far round to Mozambique, but only the coast. They knew not the interior, or, if their traders knew it, their knowledge was not given to the world. At last the attack began on the interior, and from Park to Barth and Nachtigal the Niger and Tchad were explored, and from Bruce to Baker and Speke the Nile was discovered. Livingstone gave the world Lake N'gami, the Zambezi, and the Lualaba; and set all the world on edge to solve the central mystery of the continent, the vestibule of which he had entered, and shown where the locked door to the adytum must be burst open and the secret altar found.

Lieutenant-Commander Cameron, of the Royal Navy, who, as a skilled hydrographic surveyor had already explored and mapped part of the Australian coast, was sent in 1873 to "find Livingstone, or to finish his work." At Tabora, in Unyanyembé, midway between Zanzibar and Ujiji, Cameron met the now immortal Chuma and Susi bearing the embalmed body of the great explorer to Zanzibar. He had found the hero's dust, and inspired by his spirit went on to try to finish his work. At Ujiji he made a closer survey of Lake Tanganyika, and then went on to Nyangwé, on the great Lualaba, "Livingstone's farthest." Here he found the great river only five hundred feet higher than the Nile at Gondokoro (2,000 feet), and more than five times its volume. Only one river in Africa could carry that vast flood to the sea, and that was the Congo, with its 2,000,000 cubic feet per second at lowest water. He tried to follow the vast stream, but to do so required a little army and navy, such as Stanley afterward had but he had not, and Stanley's experience

and generalship thrown in. So he exchanged the vile slaving Arabs from Zanzibar for the viler half-breed slaving Portuguese from Loanda, and with them continued his march westward by land. Their caravan trail follows the water-shed between the basin of the Congo, on the north, and that of the Zambezi, on the south, which he was thus enabled to trace, and which was an important contribution to African geography. He came out at Benguela, on the Portuguese Atlantic, in November, 1875, the first European who had crossed Africa in that latitude, although the Portuguese Serpa Pinto and others had crossed a little farther south than his line.

Cameron got across before Stanley, but he had not "finished Livingstone's work." He had shown, however, by the constant succession of large and small rivers which he crossed, nearly all flowing north, that there must be a great central line of drainage farther to the north, and so had greatly increased the probability that its final outlet was—indeed, *must be*—the Congo. But his work formed no argument to affect the problem for Stanley, for Stanley had been a year in Africa on his march to the great solution before Cameron emerged to publish his trying failure.

To Stanley's great voyage we now come; an undertaking which, for grandeur of conception, and for sagacity, vigor, and completeness of execution, must ever rank among the marches of the greatest generals and the triumphs of the greatest discoverers of history. No reader can mentally measure and classify this exploit who does not recall the prolonged struggles that have attended the exploration of all great first-class rivers—a far more difficult work, in many respects, than ocean sailing. We must remember the wonders and sufferings of Orellana's voyage (though in a brigantine, built on the Rio Napo, and with armed soldiers) down that "Mediterranean of Brazil," the Amazon, from the Andes to the Atlantic, in 1540. We must recall the voyage of Marquette and Joliet down the Mississippi in 1673; the toils of Park and the Landers on the Niger, 1795–1830; and of Speke and Baker on the Nile, 1860–1864, if we would see how the deed of Stanley surpasses them all in boldness and generalship, as it promises also to surpass them in immediate results.

The object of the voyage was twofold: first, to finish the

work of Speke and Grant in exploring the great Nile lakes; and, secondly, to strike the great Lualaba where Livingstone left it, and follow it to whatever sea or ocean it might lead.

On November 12, 1874, the great expedition sailed in six Arab dhows from Zanzibar, and landed at Bagomoyo, the nearest and usual port on the continent of Africa. Between November 17, 1874, and February 27, 1875, in 70 marching and 33 resting days—103 days in all—they marched 700 miles, from Bagomoyo to Kagehyi, on Speke Gulf, the south-eastern arm of the great Victoria Lake. Here they explored the Shimeeyu river, the largest southern affluent of the lake, a river 300 miles long, but of too small volume to be the extension of the Nile.

On March 8, 1875, leaving the greater part of his force in an intrenched camp at Kagehyi, Stanley set sail in his famous ten-oared sail-and-row-boat, the *Lady Alice* (which he had brought overland in sections), to explore the great lake which Captain Speke had discovered in 1858, but which doubt and rival ambitions had nearly laughed out of existence, or reduced to a mere "rush drain." He encountered many adventures as he coasted the eastern and northern shores of the lake; but he found no great rivers entering from all this savage coast. On March 29 they crossed "Napoleon Channel," the northern arm of the lake which pours its waters over Ripon Falls, four hundred yards wide, where the great Victoria Nile is born. On April 5, escorted by a convoy of royal canoes sent to meet them, they entered Murchison Bay, landed at Usavara, and were hospitably received by M'Tesa, the renowned Kabaka (emperor) of Uganda, the country north-west of the lake. Soon afterward Stanley returned southward along the western shore of the lake and back to his camp on Speke Gulf, whence he transported his whole expedition to Uganda. All his voyagings on the lake amounted to two thousand miles.

In Uganda Stanley was amazed at the amount of civilization which he found in the king and court, a great transformation from the bloody savage he was when Speke described him, and which Stanley found to be in part the result of his conversion since then to Mohammedanism. Taking from this a hint for his further improvement, Stanley fell to work on him with the Bible and New Testament, and actually succeeded in fur-

ther converting him and his leading courtiers into at least nominal Christians.

While here, by a bloodless stratagem, he was enabled to give M'Tesa the victory in a war in which he was already virtually beaten. He then visited a great lake, the Muta N'Zigé, lying in a mountainous country far to the west of Uganda, but was defeated from exploring either this or Baker's "Albert N'Yanza," as he had hoped, by the war between M'Tesa and Kabba Rega, King of Unyoro, the next country northward of Uganda. He then returned through Uganda, and turned southward, by land, along the western shore of the great Victoria Lake. Here he explored, in part, the greatest affluent of the lake, the great Kagera, or Kitangulé, River, which the natives all said was "the mother of the river at Jinja" ("The Rocks"), Ripon Falls. This river he named the "Alexandra Nile," and without doubt it is the true southward extension of the Nile. It was only 450 feet wide at the mouth (there being no estuary) but 85 feet deep, with a powerful iron-brown current which drives itself several miles into the great lake; and at freshet it fills its whole valley, ten miles wide. It is a great lacustrine river, connecting several riverine lakes into one system, and, without the Shimeeyu, pours more water into the N'Yanza than the Nile draws out. The balance of the water, and all that supplied by smaller streams, is disposed of by the vast evaporation belonging to the high altitude and equatorial latitude of the great lake. The largest lake on the Kagera (and which he did not reach), he named "Alexandra N'Yanza."

While at King Rumanika's, on the Kagera, Stanley heard that this Kagera (the Alexandra Nile) was the outlet of the Muta N'Zigé. This, if true, gives from 500 to 800 miles more length of channel (not of latitude) to the Nile, and another large lake, probably three, as the sources of the yet undiscovered river.*

* Stanley's interrupted visit to the lake gave no time for exact observations. Later reports make the Muta N'Zigé lie 960 feet lower than the Victoria, and so to belong, perhaps, to the Congo system, although Albert Lake is 480 feet lower still, and it might, by levels, go to that, or to the Tanganyika, 444 feet lower. Recent reports from Emin Bey indicate that it goes to Albert Lake by the Kakibi, a river of great volume but full of cataracts, as the great difference in level demands. If so, Ptolemy's map is verified, except as to latitude. Emin also reports the discovery on the Kakibi of exposed ledges of rock-salt, a matter of immense importance, on account of the scarcity of salt in Central Africa.

It was with such bitterest disappointment as none but an enthusiast in exploration can understand that Stanley was three times turned back from his darling project of striking west and south from Uganda, piercing all the unexplored country north of Lake Tanganyika, and coming out on the great Lualaba at "Livingston's farthest," Nyangwé. But it was not then to be. Impracticable savagery drove him back then; but probably his present long disappearance (June, 1888) is to be accounted for, in part, at least, by the time required to complete this long-intended work. But, thus turned from his course, he kept on southward through western Unyanyembé, and on May 27, 1876, a year and a half from Zanzibar, Stanley was again in Ujiji, amid the memories of Livingstone. The first great stage of his journey was accomplished, but the sublimer and more formidable part, the plunge down the great Lualaba into the vast western unknown, yet lay before him.

On June 11, 1876, Stanley had his *Lady Alice* once more afloat, this time on the great lake Tanga-Nika (as he explains it should be spelled and pronounced), the "plain-like lake." * With a great native canoe as consort, and two picked crews from his men, and two veteran lake-guides from Ujiji—Ruango, who had piloted himself and Livingstone in 1871, and Para, who led Cameron in 1874—he set out to complete the circumnavigation and exploration of the great lake. Having explored the lake from Ujiji to its northern end with Livingstone in 1871, they now turned southward, along the eastern shore. The mouth of the Malagarazi River they found 600 yards wide and over 50 feet deep. Off the lofty Kabogo headland Stanley sounded the lake 1,800 feet, all his line, and found no bottom, thus corroborating Livingstone, whose line broke at over 1,900 feet, and had not yet found the bottom of this mighty continental chasm. On July 3, the southmost bay of the lake was reached in south latitude 8° 47′.

On July 15, midway of the western shore, they came to the Lukuga creek or river, the much-disputed inlet or outlet of the lake. Stanley was so fortunate as to find here Kawé-Niangeh, the same chief who had piloted Cameron in his visit to the spot two years before. He found the Lukuga's mouth a mile

* But Commander Cameron—probably a better critical scholar—says it is *Tanga-N'Yika*, the "mixing place," that is, of the waters.—*Across Africa*, p. 458.

wide at the lake (though partly closed by sand-bars), and 400 yards wide two miles from the lake. It was formerly the mouth of an inflowing river; but the rim of the lake here is so low and narrow and soft that the river has cut through its own right bank to the westward, and now goes to the Lualaba, and the Tanganyika receives only a small inflow from it, or sends an outflow into it, according to the varying height of the lake. The lake was then rapidly rising. A sandy beach on which Livingstone and Stanley walked in 1871 at Ujiji was then 200 feet from shore in the lake. At another place Stanley found a tree standing in nine feet of water, under which his guides had once camped. The *Lady Alice* sailed over a submerged village fence six feet high, with three feet of water to spare under her keel. All the natives were fearing that the lake would "eat up the land." Three feet more rise and the lake, fed by over one hundred rivers, will flow out of the reedy and muddy bayou, the Lukuga, and pour a vast flood into and down the Luindi River to Lake Lanji, an expansion of the Lualaba. Then a great erosion of its channel is likely to take place, until the lake is lowered again, and then the river will flow into the lake again, and begin to silt up its mouth. Then the lake will throw up sand-bars, and turn the Lûindi westward to the Lualaba again, and the dammed-up lake waters will begin to rise again. So we interpret Stanley's facts. He gives a good chart of the bayou, and a minute record of his investigations, but not a very satisfactory philosophy of the phenomena, except that here is now a marshy bayou, where was once a vast inlet, and is soon to be an outlet. This was the principal problem to be solved in connection with the great lake. It belongs not to the Nile, but to the Congo basin—by spells!—that is, when it has more water than its home market consumes, and has to export that fluid.* On July 31, the expedition returned to Ujiji.

* These theories concerning the action of this outlet are now fully verified. Rev. E. C. Hore, for five years an English missionary at Lake Tanganyika, in a letter dated January 18, 1886, reported to the Royal Geographical Society (*Transactions for* 1886, pp. 328, 329): "With the exception of a slight variation of a few inches due to alternate heavy rains and evaporation in the dry seasons, the lake continues at the level secured to it by the waste-pipe, Lukuga," (which was then moderately overflowing). But the Austrian traveler, Dr. Lenz, was at Mr. Hore's station (which is on Cavala island, in the lake, close to the outlet), in

On August 25, 1876, the bugles sounded to start westward, to cross the lake, and push down to Nyangwé, on the great Lualaba, which they reached on October 27, after a two-months' march along the same Arab slaver's caravan route traversed by Livingstone. Here the Arab settlement of ivory and slave hunters dates only from 1868, yet it has already desolated country enough for a State like Ohio, and is rapidly extending its destroying and depopulating work of diabolism, and filling up and settling the country with a permanent Arab population.

On November 5, 1876, having hired the Arab slaving nabob Tippoo-Tib and his force as an escort, Stanley's expedition—in the face of all possible opposition and terrible stories of warlike tribes, cannibals, and cataracts ahead, all of which proved to be only too true—resolutely set out to solve the problem of the mighty unknown flood that was every second pouring (as Cameron figured*) one hundred and twenty-three thousand cubic feet of water (more than five Niles at Gondokoro) past Nyangwé into—what? They first made a fourteen-days' march by land, through a terrible forest, down the country east of the great river to avoid cataracts, and at last camped on the mighty stream at Rukumbeh's crossing, in S. lat. 3° 35′. Here there was almost a panic to return from the dread unknown before them, but Stanley, shrewdly, bravely and eloquently, told his wavering but fatalistic Moslem band: "My people, though this river is so great, so wide and deep, [yet] no man has ever penetrated the distance lying between this spot on which we stand and . . . the salt sea. Why? Because it was left for *us* to do. I tell you, it has been left from the beginning of time until to-day for *us* to do. . . . The *one God* has written that this year the river shall be known throughout its length! . . . To-day I shall launch my boat on that stream, and it shall never leave it till I finish my work! I swear it!" †

And he did it! His despairing heroes were reinspired, and the expedition began the tremendous voyage down the Living-

the same year, seven months later. Mr. Hore then informed him that the Lukuga had "forced its way through obstructions and flowed to the Congo." "The current is now exceedingly strong," and "the level of the lake has fallen fifteen feet." Dr. Lenz observed the "old shore-lines" abandoned by the lake, corroborating this testimony. (*Transactions Royal Geographical Society*, 1887, p. 241.)

* *Across Africa*, p. 269.

† *Dark Continent*, vol. ii, pp. 149, 150. See also pp. 180, 191.

stone River. At Vinya N'jara (at 1,650 feet elevation), on December 28, 1876, Tippoo-Tib,* compelled by his followers, broke his contract and turned back. But the expedition went on and entered "the gleaming portal of the unknown" (*Dark Continent*, ii, 197); the "vast shining river" still, still unknown, beckoning them onward. So they went on for nearly three months, nor could they hear or learn a word or sound that betrayed any name by which they had ever heard of the stream before until, on February 8, 1877, in its highest bend north of the equator, just where it begins to turn south-west toward the Atlantic, the old chief Rubunga, in answer to their inquiry for the name of the river, at last understood them and sent back the thrilling shout, "*Ikuta ya Kongo!*" Never was "Θάλατα!" "Θάλατα!" shouted with more joy by the 10,000 Greeks on the shores of the Euxine of old than was that shout taken up and re-echoed in the heart of Africa, "*Ikuta ya Kongo!*"

The story of the descent of the great river is an Iliad in itself. Through hunger and weariness; through fever, dysentery, poisoned arrows, and small-pox; through bellowing hippopotami, crocodiles, and monitors; past mighty tributaries, themselves great first-class rivers; down roaring rapids, whirlpools, and cataracts; through great canoe-fleets of saw-teethed, fighting, gnashing cannibals fiercer than tigers; through thirty-two battles on land and river, often against hundreds of great canoes, some of them ninety feet long and with a hundred spears on board; and, at last, through the last fearful journey by land and water down the tremendous canyon below Stanley Pool. Still they went on, and on, relentlessly on, until finally they got within hailing and helping distance of Boma, on the vast estuary by the sea; and on August 9, 1877, the news thrilled the civilized world that Stanley was saved, and had connected Livingstone's Lualaba with Tuckey's Congo! After 7,000 miles' wanderings in 1,000 days save one from Zanzibar, and four times crossing the equator, he looked white men in the face once more, and was startled that they were so pale! Black

* This is the man whom Stanley has since made his lieut.-governor at Stanley Falls. He is suspected of having a treacherous relation to Stanley's progress in the present expedition, for which he was to furnish re-enforcements of bearers and supplies. His dilatoriness has a natural explanation in his desire to set up a kingdom of his own on the Upper Congo, under the name of the authority of Zanzibar. And he certainly has the prior claim to the territory.

had become the normal color of the human face! Thus the central stream of the second vastest river on the globe, next to the Amazon in magnitude, was at last explored, and a new and unsuspected realm was disclosed in the interior of a prehistoric continent, itself the oldest cradle of civilization. The delusions of ages were swept away at one masterful stroke, and a new world was discovered by a new Columbus in a canoe!

But the surprises of African exploration by no means ended with Stanley's great exploit. Stanley discovered *one* Congo; *two more* Congos have been discovered since, a ring in each half of the cake, each well-nigh as brilliant and valuable as the central one. The one in the southern half was found first. When Cameron and others traced the southern rim of the great Congo basin they found the head-streams of what the natives and traders told them were many great rivers flowing northward. When Stanley went down the Congo, keeping mostly to the left (that is, the southern) bank, he found the mouths of many great rivers flowing from the south into the main stream. By a hasty theoretical construction, in violation of the great left-hand-curve law that is found to rule with minor exceptions this entire river system, these heads and tails were tied together by long, straight, dotted lines running in nearly parallel courses away northward from Cameron's route to the Congo, and the native names thought fittest were given to them; and so the vast blank was filled with these imaginary rivers, made mostly in London! Now all this dotted, conjectural work, or most of it, has to be wiped off the slate of Africa. Stanley's own actual observations stand as remarkably correct, considering the trying circumstances under which most of them were made. But the conjectural work is revolutionized or abolished, another warning against undue theorizing. Instead of vast, straight rivers running a thousand miles northward into the great loop of the Congo horseshoe, and thus making any possible commerce on them go around two sides of a great triangle to get to the ocean, the actual route, on the south, is by the third side, straight to Stanley Pool. The territory inclosed in the vast ox-bow is divided almost due east and west by another great line of drainage, a chord that subtends the arc and makes an almost straight line of deep water navigation from Stanley Pool to within 200 miles of Livingstone's Nyangwé, on

the Lualaba, 300 miles above Stanley Falls, and in exactly the same south latitude as Stanley Pool. The intervening country, west of Nyangwé, is level, rich, and populous, and practicable for railways or canals; and so here is the straight line across the continent, from Zanzibar, by way of Nyangwé, to Stanley Pool.

This great waterway was discovered in 1885 by Lieutenant Wissmann, Dr. Wolf, and others, sent out from Belgium as "The Kassai Expedition," for the purpose of exploring the course of the great southern affluents of the Congo. Dr. Paul Pogge and Lieutenant Wissmann had previously, in 1883, crossed the continent on a line a good deal to the north of Cameron's route, and had found very highly intelligent and friendly native tribes in the Bashilangé and Baluba countries, on the great Kassai and its eastern tributary, the Lulua. These tribes had never been reached by slave-hunters from any direction, and never saw white men before. When their fears were quelled they became devoted to the explorers, who treated them well and promised to return to them. This they now did, in 1885, marching eastward 1,200 miles from St. Paul de Loanda. They were hospitably received, and built a strong station, Luluaburg, on the Lulua, east of the Kassai, on the sixth parallel S. lat. They then launched the steel boat *Paul Pogge*, which they had brought with them, and, leaving part of their German force at the station, and accompanied by many natives, including two chiefs, in a fleet of canoes, they set out to follow the rivers to the Congo. They went north-west down the Lulua, which soon received the large Luebo on the left, and then, turning westward, entered the Kassai, coming from the south but bending westward. This great river they followed down, still going north-west. They passed the great Sankuru, coming in on their right with a left-hand curve from the east in two mouths, one 800 and the other 1,000 feet (an aggregate of a third of a mile) wide, a vast river equal to the Kassai; and still they went on, to their constant amazement, not north, but only a little north of due west. The Loangé and other large rivers came in from the south, for they were cutting across all the imaginary rivers on Stanley's maps, and gathering them all up, every one with the left-hand curve, into the Kassai, which had now become a vast lacustrine flood, like the Congo, five miles wide, full of large islands and sand-banks, and navigable

for large vessels. On they went, west by north, ever wondering, until another great river, which came from the south, entered the great Kassai, which now ran north a few miles, received another great river flowing from the east, and then itself turned *southwest!* the left-hand curve again! Then suddenly they entered the vast Congo, and saw the Congo flag flying on the left, and knew that they had come out at Kwa-mouth, the junction of the mighty Kwa with the Congo; and only 75 miles lower down they cast anchor at Leopoldville, on Stanley Pool. They had discovered another Congo! The new stern-wheel steamer *Stanley*, 100 feet long, had just arrived, in sections, from England. Sir Francis de Winton, Stanley's new representative as governor, had also just come. Wissmann's word must be kept. Those friendly natives and chiefs from Baluba must be taken home again. They could never ascend that vast distance in their canoes. Sir Francis ordered the work on the steamer hastened. She was soon launched and tested, and Sir Francis himself took command, and with over 250 souls on board the *Stanley*, accompanied by the steam launch *En Avant*, steamed up the vast Kassai and took the wondering and grateful Balubas back to their own Lulua's shores again.

Dr. Wolf, with the *En Avant*, soon afterward descended the Kassai to the mouth of the great Sankuru, and then ascended that stream, finding it three miles wide and eighteen feet deep. Between his work, Wissmann's before him, and that of Rev. George Grenfell with the Baptist missionary steamer *Peace* afterward, the following is the result: The great river Lomami comes from away south, and runs in a north-west course, parallel to Livingstone's Lualaba, 200 miles to the west of Nyangwé, gathering up several other great rivers from its own left shore. Then it turns west and becomes the Luecho, which receives from the south the great Lubilash, and so goes on west as the great Sankuru, until it joins, or is joined by, the great Kassai, as already mentioned. The great river running northward, which falls into the lower Kassai, is the great Luango, and the river coming from the right (east) is Stanley's M'fini, or Black River, from Lake Leopold II., and these are all now one, the *Kwa*, which pours into the Congo with a stream of five miles an hour, and no soundings at 120 feet deep. The Luango is the joint product of the Kwango, the Wambu, the In-

shia, the Kwengo, and the Kwilu, all coming south from the country next east of Loanda. The peculiarity of this river system is, that it is not one main river starting from the East and flowing west, but each river flows, as a branch (generally with the left-hand-curve), into the one rising next west of it, which, in turn, becomes the main stream, until it joins the next, so that probably the Sankuru is larger at their junction than the Kassai, which gives its name to the whole system. To start, then, from the head stream west of Nyangwé and follow the main line of drainage, the vast river is the Lomami-Luecho-Lubilash-Sankuru-Kassai-Kwa, or now the "Kassai," a vast central river of about 800 miles of open steam navigation (not counting its great tributaries, mostly navigable also), tying the two ends of the great Congo ox-bow together between Nyangwé and Stanley Pool, a river of vast population and resources, and whose shores, on either side, have little, if ever, been harried by the slave-trader. The table-land country north of this new Congo has also been explored by Grenfell, who in his steamer has ascended every one of its navigable streams from the Congo, five of them, making over a thousand miles more navigation here in all. The Balolo language, a Bantu tongue, extends east and west entirely across the equatorial belt of this ox-bow country of the Congo.

And now for the oldest and the newest, the Northern Congo, so new that the news of the last link of discovery that determined its existence has only just reached the civilized world during the writing of this article. What is it? It is the great Welle-Makua-Mobangi, the great Congo north of the Congo. In 1870 Dr. Schweinfurth, via Khartoum, discovered the new Monbutoo country south of the great Bahr-el-Gazal expansion of the Nile Basin, there found and navigated a new great river flowing to the west and west-north-west into the unknown realm of Central Africa, as we have related in a previous article.

Twenty years previously, before Stanley was heard of, a very learned Fellani traveler of Dar-foor had told Barth* of the great "river of Kubanda," away to the south of the Shary basin, a much larger river, as they thought, than the Shary, and which flowed west, but whence it came or whither it went they knew not. The "kumba" tree grew plentifully on that river, which

* *Journal* (not *Proceedings*) *British Royal Geographical Society*, 1853, pp. 120, 121.

Schweinfurth found to be the Zandeh, name of the Malaghetti pepper, abundant on his Welle. The people fought desperately with the "kourbatsh," a terrible missile weapon or bill-hook of iron or copper, with pointed prongs like daggers and tomahawks standing out of all its edges, a weapon found plentifully in the South-Central Soudan by Barth, and on the Welle by Schweinfurth, who gives cuts of five styles of it in his *Heart of Africa* (ii, 10); a weapon known nowhere else in the world.

The route of the English consul, Petherick, from Khartoum, through the Bahr-el-Gazal country in 1861–63 reached to within a very few miles of the equator, directly across Schweinfurth's Welle, but his announcing no such great river there made either Schweinfurth's work or else his own uncertain. But Dr. Nachtigal, at Lake Tchad, in 1869–76, heard of the large river "Bahr-Kuta," to the south of the Shary Basin, which his servant and interpreter, an intelligent Bornuman, had visited, at Barusso. The Greek traveler Potagos had also been there in 1877. All these things pointed to one or more large rivers in this unexplored region, and the curiosity of the scientific world has been on the alert ever since, to find out whether this great drainage went to the Shary and Tchad, as Schweinfurth thought, but Barth seriously doubted; or to the Benué, (the sources of which in eastern Adamawa were not discovered by Flegel until August, 1882), as seemed impossible; or to old Calabar river in the Bight of Benin (as some thought, though no adequate mouth for such a river had there been discovered); or to some great unknown inland lake, another Tchad, as others thought; or to Tuckey's old Congo, as Barth intimated (and as maps on his idea were correctly sketched before Stanley's Congo was known); or to Stanley's Byerré (incorrectly Aruwimi) branch of the Congo, as he himself thought and argued. But meantime exploration went forward on the upper Welle, by Emin Bey (Dr. Schneitzer) from Lado, (the former seat of his governorship on the upper Nile under Gordon at Khartoum); by Lupton Bey (Englishman), governor of the Bahr-el-Gazal province; by Casati, an Italian; and most of all by the scientific and indefatigable German, Dr. Junker, to whom, after Schweinfurth, chiefly belongs the credit of opening up this great new water-shed. The result of all this work was to prove that the Kuta, itself a great river with large

navigable branches, was a northern branch of the far greater Makua, and that the Makua (Barth's "River of Kubanda") was a lower section of the Welle (which means river) and its Monbuttoo, and most proper name. This great river, by these united explorations, was thus traced from its fountains on the high mountain slope not fifty miles west of the Nile at the foot of Albert Lake, westward through nine degrees of longitude, over 500 statute miles, or over 600 miles by its actual course. During this course it receives an immense inflow of branches, large and small, from both sides, until, at Ali-Kobbo's, (Junker's farthest west), it swells to a vast lacustrine flood six miles wide, full of populous islands, or wild islands forested and full of elephants; which, like the Congo, is too wide to be looked across or measured except scientifically. Junker was preparing for a Stanley-like voyage down this great river, leading he knew not whither, but knowing it ten times too large to be the upper Shary, when the great Mahdi rebellion broke out in the Egyptian Soudan, and the loyal forces, already weakened by the slave-hunters' rebellion (instigated by Ziebehr from Egypt against his own government on account of Gordon's anti-slaving work), were driven out of this whole region, Lupton was taken prisoner, and Junker found refuge with Emin at Wadelai, just below Albert Lake, where Emin has held the country for Egypt ever since, and whither Stanley is marching from the Congo to re-enforce or rescue him. Junker, after ten years in Africa, at last escaped through Uganda, across Victoria Lake to Zanzibar, and England, where he has recently died. Thus ended the exploration of the great Makua-Welle, leaving the riddle quadrupled in magnitude, the curiosity quadrupled in intensity, and both unanswered. But some other things had been solved. The Nepoko, a smaller (but large) river reached by Junker nearly 200 miles south of the Welle, was of the right volume and course to make Stanley's Byerré, and is undoubtedly that river. Junker's last point on the Makua, at Ali-Kobbo's, was 300 miles north-west of and beyond the mouth of the Byerré, and on a river far too large, also, to be that stream, or any other then known tributary of all this part of the Congo. What could it be? The world waited and theorized.

But, meantime, the Rev. George Grenfell, the energetic and scientific Baptist missionary explorer at Stanley Pool, whose

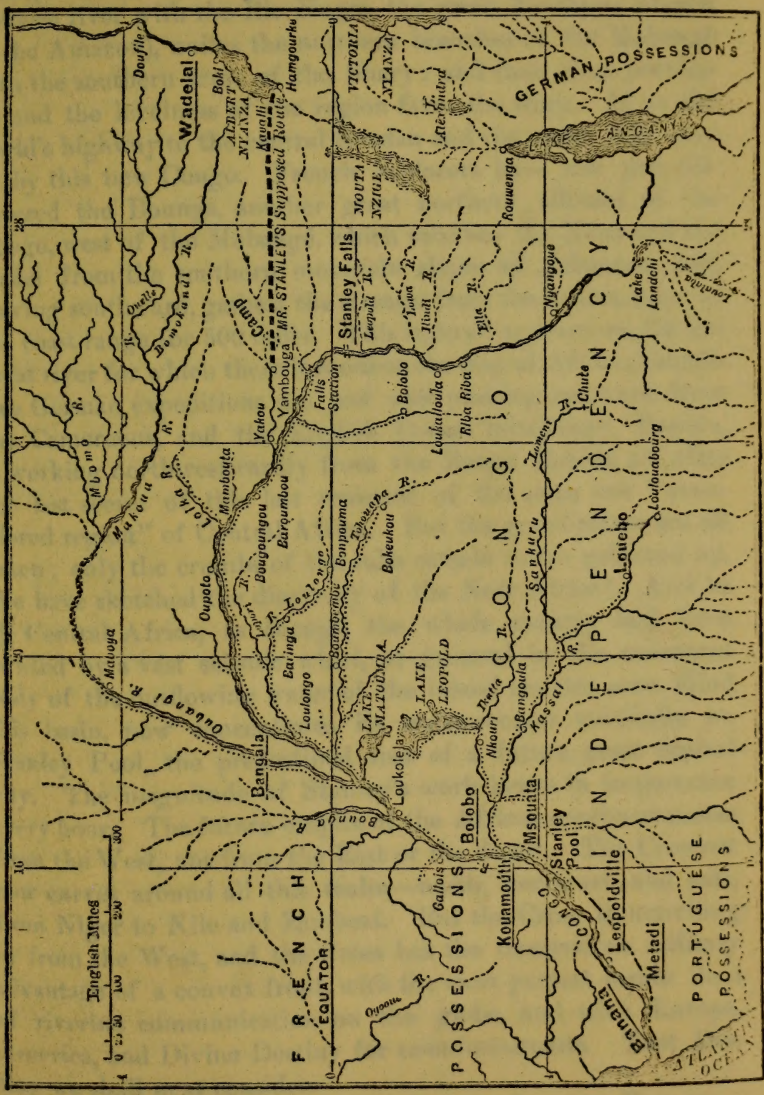
name must forever rank next to that of Stanley as the explorer of the Congo basin, had been boldly thrusting his seventy-foot iron steamer, the *Peace*, up every tributary of the Congo until he had surveyed and mapped almost every known stream to its head of navigation. But as yet no tributary had been found that *could* bring down the colossal Makua into the Congo. But on Stanley's first map, in his *Dark Continent*, he lays down the conjectural stump of a river entering the Congo from the north, at a point a little south of the equator, and puts on the blank space the words, "probably river here." On his second "Congo Free State" map he makes a long dotted hearsay river here, coming from far to the north, which, on exploration, might be expected to follow the fate of the long straight "alleged rivers" on the south side of the basin. But this has not proved to be quite the case. Stanley's voyages both kept mainly the south (left) bank of the Congo, from which the north (right) bank is almost every-where invisible, on account of the seven to ten miles breadth of the stream and the countless islands. Wherefore, neither Stanley nor any other explorer had seen the right bank of the Congo at this spot. Grenfell, ascending and surveying this shore, one day found himself on strange waters and among strange tribes, who fled in terror from the face of a white man and his enormous fiery-dragon canoe, and at last discovered that he was a *hundred miles* from the Congo, up another stream, itself so vast and so full of islands that he had not beheld its left bank (on his right) in ascending, and whose course was so nearly parallel with that of this part of the Congo, and so narrowly separated from it, that he had not detected the variation. He was on the M'bangé, or Mobangé, whose stump Stanley had conjecturally located, and the Mobangé was another Congo! For more than four hundred miles he steamed up the vast flood, through tribes to whom he was every-where "Bedimo!" "Bedimo!"—*A ghost! A ghost!*—as they fled in terror from their villages. His course was only a little east of north, and almost a straight line, until he reached 4° 30′ N. lat., far beyond the most northern bend of the Congo; when there the river broke through an east-and-west range of hills in a slight rapid, now known as the Zongo Rapid. But they steamed through the gap and found it an elbow of the river, above which they saw through a broad valley the vast tide coming

from the east and south east, with nowhere less than twenty-five feet depth in the channel. They would have gone on, but there were more rapids above, and the now hostile natives shot showers of poisoned arrows at them, and they had to turn back.

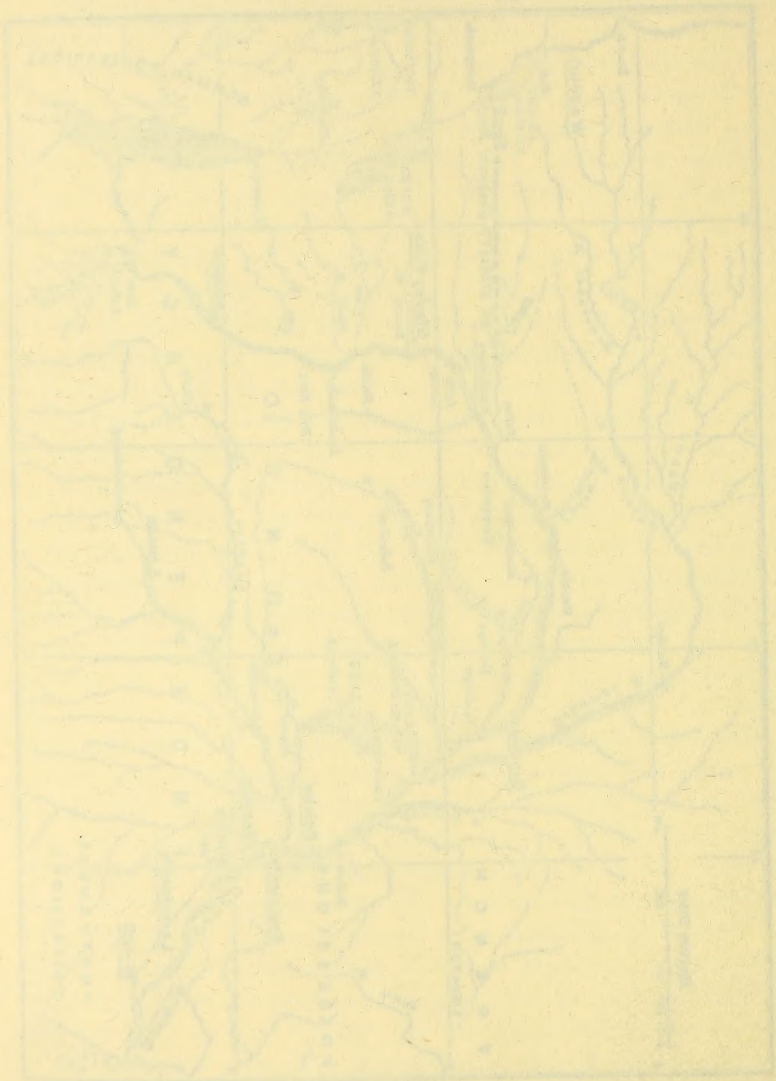
But these river natives spoke no dialect of the great Bantu stock, to which all the Congo languages belong, and not one of the Congo boat-hands could converse with or understand them. They were also abundantly armed with the kourbatsh, mentioned on page 552, a characteristic weapon, entirely unknown on the Congo, or south of it, and the ethnological significance of which was at once apparent. Here, then, was a new realm, a new river, new races (resembling the "Fan" tribes east of the Gaboon and south of the Benué sources), and weapons that told of either kinship or traffic with the Zandeh smiths of the Niam-Niam, or the Soudanese of Musgu, on the upper Shary. Grenfell had to return to Stanley Pool, but the learned world at once concluded that Schweinfurth's Welle, and Junker's Makua, and Barth's "River of Kubanda" (which, with astonishing correctness, he had, from mere hearsay, located at 3° N. lat.), and Grenfell's Mobangé, were one and the same river. How could it be otherwise when they were of the same vastness and character, with similar tribes, weapons, and productions, on their banks, one going on west, the other coming out of the east, and *Junker's farthest downstream only two hundred and fifty miles east of Grenfell's farthest upstream, in the same latitude?*

The map makers of the great geographical societies at once joined the two points. With two such giants within two hundred and fifty miles of each other, and no other way out, they *must* join—and they *have joined*, and Barth is again shown as one of the most sagacious travelers of all time. While this article has been flowing from the pen, the news comes in the solid shape of editorial notes in the Royal Geographical Society's doings for April and May, 1888, that Captain Van Gele, a Belgian officer of the Congo Free State, has continued the exploration of the Mobangé, and reduced the gap between it and the Makua to only one degree! The new Welle-Makua-Mobangi, another great northern Congo, a river 300 miles longer than the Ohio below Pittsburg, with the Werré, the M'Bomu, and several other great navigable tributaries, takes

its place upon the map of the world. Our sketch map given below, taken originally from the (London) *Graphic*, shows the outlines of the great Congo river system down to the last dates;



Map to illustrate the Congo River system to latest dates, and also Stanley's route to the relief of Emin Bey. Improved by J. D. Felter from the (London) *Graphic's* recent map.



and also Stanley's route to the relief of Emin Bey. The map follows the French spelling—Oubangé, etc.

Native reports say that a navigable natural canal, another Cassiquiaré (like that in South America connecting the Orinoco river with the Rio Negro, the great Northern branch of the Amazon), unites the northern branches of the Mobangé with the southern arms of the Shary: and their close proximity and the levelness of the region favor the story. If so, the world's highway to the central Soudan and the upper Nile may be by this new Congo. French explorers have also just discovered the Bounga, another great northern affluent of the Congo, west of the Mobangé, which receives the Nana and the Kadei from the southern mountain slopes of Adamawa, and, flowing southward, gathers the streams from the eastern slope of the coast-range for 500 miles. This is, to all appearance, the last great river for which there is room on the map of Africa; though two German expeditions are just now pushing eastward from the Cameroons, and the English Congo missionary, Brooke, is working northwestwardly from the Zongo Rapids, all after the last secret of this last remnant of the once vast "unexplored region" of Central Africa. But the grand prizes are all taken; only the crumbs of the cake remain to be gathered up. We have sketched the discovery of the New Africa! And so all Central Africa, as though the whole country had been twisted by a vast seismic whirl, or grooved by the enormous eddy of the outflowing water of the inland sea that once filled this basin, now concentrates its water-courses vortically on Stanley Pool, the predestined seat of a future great capital city. The magnitude of Stanley's work looms in importance every hour. The future empire of the African continent comes from the West, not from the East or the desert. The Crescent now curves around all this realm—north, northeast, and east, from Niger to Nile and Zambezi. But the Cross is marching in from the West, and the Cross has the tremendous military advantage of a convex front, with the most perfect inside lines of riverine communication on the globe, and with Europe, America, and Divine Destiny for re-enforcements. That Destiny we shall next consider.

GEORGE LANSING TAYLOR.

Art. V.—NOVEL LITERATURE: ITS HISTORY AND ETHICS.

The novel is the expression of an intellectual temperament in process of development, and the logical output of imaginative thought in concrete literary form. If the botanist was inevitable long before Linnæus because trees and flowers preceded him; if the zoologist was inevitable long before Cuvier because the animal kingdom antedated him; if the geologist was inevitable long before Sir Charles Lyell because the earth was formed before geology constructed its alphabet; and if the historian was inevitable long before Herodotus because human life was in action and asserting its relation to things; so also was the novelist inevitable long before Cervantes and Dickens because men, women, and children, or human society, the family, civil government, the faculty of imagination, and the mind itself, with all the accessories of life, were upheaving with distress, or shouting with hope, or articulating its ambitions, from the days of the flood. We consider, therefore,

I. The Origin and History of the Novel.

The novel has its roots in man's mental structure, and is the product of æsthetic culture and the exercise of the inventive spirit; of dramatic genius and the quiet unfolding of the historical and biographical sense. It is a mistake entirely too common to attribute the novel to the imagination alone, or to the other faculties as mere auxiliaries, for while it may be the issue of pure invention, without a single basal fact in it, of which, however, it is difficult to furnish many examples, the modern novel, which is the specialty of this article, combines so much of history, nature, and human life, and employs so many faculties in its preparation, that it cannot be said to be the sole emanation of any one faculty or department of mind. As the scientist may be "diseased with hypothesis," to quote George Eliot, so the novelist may be diseased with imagination; in which case the result will be phantom, reverie, superstition, or life as an abstraction. Still, as a general proposition it is safe to designate the imagination as the reigning faculty in fiction, as induction is the sovereign power

in science. The imagination is not a creator, and is without license to create any thing; but it is a weaver, whose materials must come from beyond itself, and whose work is the combination of these outside materials in new and striking forms to please the eye, touch the heart, instruct the mind, solace and build up the life. With unlimited power, or with an untrained and unbridled imagination, the novelist degenerates into a mere conjurer of fancies, a burlesquer of ideals, a destroyer of ideas and realities.

In one particular the imagination is of special value in fiction. It seeks to transfer history out of past relations into present conditions; it imports climates, peoples, governments, religions, social life, to our very doors; it brings every thing needful to its purpose into our very presence. If in dealing with historic facts, or presenting any past period, or the social phenomena of other times, the novelist is without this power, he is but an antiquarian, an historian; he is a novelist but in name. Lord Kames's distinction between "ideal presence" and "real presence" is fundamental, and explains both actual history and the history of the novelist. The latter seizes the former, segregates it from its environment, and, however ancient or lifeless, rehabilitates it, and makes it appear real in the present time. In the hands of the writer who has this power, as Macaulay and Irving had it, history becomes a present reality—is no longer mere history, but a current movement of time. To such there is no past; there is only the present. Sir Walter Scott to an eminent degree, and Berthold Auerbach in less proportion, possessed this power; hence, each stands but as an historical romancer; but Sir Bulwer Lytton, profound, skillful in other respects as deficient in this, did not make *The Last Days of Pompeii*, otherwise one of his best volumes, the most interesting, or one that will live the longest.

Education has stimulated the taste or the love of "ideal presence," and prepared the mind for this form of literature; it has developed a craving, an appetite which nothing but the ideal itself seemingly will satisfy. Professor E. D. Sanborn long ago observed that "the imagination needs less stimulus than any of the other native powers of the soul;" but because it is naturally active, and responds so quickly to the ideal, it needs training, discipline, and right development all the more, and

quite as much as the memory, the judgment, and the will. It is a stimulated, intoxicated imagination that has dealt out the objectionable, the unnatural, the fanciful, and the improbable in novel literature; it is therefore at this point that the most careful education is required.

We maintain a distinction between the literature itself, or its substance, and its form or expression, for it is by confounding these, or permitting the imagination to employ itself on one as well as the other, that the novel has become unsafe in pedagogy and quite dangerous in ethics. The source of novel literature, except as it undertakes an exposition of psychologic phenomena, is largely external; the form is internal, or dependent on the mental bias of the novelist. The substance is empirical; the form psychological. If the imagination assumes to exercise creative power, or becomes an empirical agent in the domain of thought, producing literary substance, the novel must become morbidly fanciful, skeptical of truth, and superstitious in its grasp of life; but if chiefly confined to its peculiar function, the production of form, the novel will be interpreted as a work of art, with its basal elements happily safeguarded by truth or the facts of life.

Human society as it is, or has been, is the hotbed of novel literature; it furnishes the material; it ejects the woes, the joys, the incidents, the histories, the philanthropies, the moralities into the lap of the fiction-writer. Social instincts in action and reaction; passions throbbing, or at rest, or under holy discipline; moral sentiments, all-pervading and all-controlling, or dyspeptic, epileptic, superficial, uncertain; miseries multiplied without necessity, or curtailed by the benevolent spirit; poverty, wreck, social anarchies, domestic disorders, political grievances, under the guidance of the Plutonic spirit or the "beast in man," on the one hand, and refinement, culture, devout and religious aspirations, sanctioned by the highest ministry of God, on the other; the ceaseless struggles of life, the divine and human in collision or gentle embrace, or in sweet and holy harmony; beauty and deformity, grace and awkwardness, peace and war, revenge and forgiveness, marriage and lust, brutality and gentleness, order and chaos, the school, the college, the nursery, the home, the Church, the government—these are the materials of the novelist. Let the imagination weave these into

as many combinations as the facts themselves will warrant, devising such forms or a manner of presentation as will be in harmony with the facts, and objection will have little weight either against fact or form.

Fiction is the common expression of thought, truth, law, and religion. It abounds in law, where, seemingly, it should be ruled out, as husband and wife are often regarded as one person when in fact they are two. So great an authority as Blackstone justifies such fictions. "Constitutional law is honeycombed with fictions," says the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* Life is full of fictions: social fictions, as etiquette; poetic fictions, as licenses of speech; historical fictions, as the rights of kings; ecclesiastical fictions, as apostolic succession and priestly absolutions; commercial fictions, as the cash system; and literary fictions, as the copyright of authors. Life itself is a stupendous fiction, a great disguise breaking through fleshly symbols in speech and action to make itself known in its independence and supremacy. The sciences are novels materialized. Zoology is a novel of the animal kingdom. Victor Hugo says, animals are intended to represent the virtues and vices of men, as the fox craftiness, the lion authority, the ant industry, the serpent wisdom, and the hyena the mischievous spirit. Botany is likewise a great novel, illustrating by the trees, the ferns, the flowers, the mosses and grasses, the beauty, order, symmetry, and uses of the human organism and human life.

The novel has a fixed place in literature, gained just as history or poetry has gained its place in literature. It constitutes a literature by itself, and must be dealt with as one would deal with any other indisputable fact. In vain the insects fight against the stars; in vain will it be for the mind to disown its children. The novel is here. Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors* (1872) treats of 2,257 British and American novelists. In thirty years after Sir Walter Scott's death the British Isles produced 4,500 novels, or about 10,000 volumes, showing the great demand, and that the fiction-writer was at hand to meet it. Including the works of other national fiction-writers the number of volumes written in fifty years is enormous, and the effect upon the world's social and moral life beyond calculation or measurement. To satisfy the greed for fiction authors have been incessant in labor and abundant in production, as the fol-

lowing facts show: G. P. R. James is credited with having written 190 volumes; Miss Braddon, 50; Bertha M. Clay, 30; Alexander Dumas, 40; Emile Gaborian, 20; M. C. Hay, 25; Charles J. Lever, 25; Captain F. Marryat, 25; Miss Mulock, 35; Mrs. Oliphant, 25; "Ouida," 30; James Payn, 20; Charles Reade, 20; F. W. Robinson, 20; Mrs. E. P. Wood, 30; Mrs. E. D. Southworth, 40. Without enumerating the works of Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, "George Eliot," "George Sand," and the unnumbered host of fiction-writers, one can see from the above that the passion for fiction-writing is as great as the passion for fiction-reading.

If we should attempt to trace the history of the novel as a phase of literary development, we should observe, first, ancient typical romances, as the Greek and Roman; second, mediæval romances; third, the modern novel. Among the ancient Greeks there were no novelists like Dickens or "George Eliot;" society preferred the fable, the song, the traditional story. In their epic and dramatic poetry, which is within the range of our consideration, the Greek writers were careful to exhibit the skill and daring of heroes, and to honor strength and courage, paying little attention to domestic life in its simplicity, and depicting a love scene more because of its relation to heroism than of its beauty or value in itself. They dealt with love as a sentiment of honor and the inspiration of heroic action. The hero fought for love, but did not enjoy its possession. The lover was a hero—the hero was not a lover. As the taste for this kind of literature developed it became more passionate, disappearing as a high-born sentiment in actual amatorial disguises, relations, and results, and declining in moral character. *Babylonica*, by Iamblicus, written in the time of Trajan; *Ephesiaca; or, The Lovers of Anthia and Abrocomas*, by Zenophon of Ephesus; *Æthiopica*, by Heliodorus; and *Daphnis and Chloe*, by Longus, may be mentioned as types of the Greek novel in the early Christian centuries. By the twelfth century it had entirely lost its sturdy original epic character and confined itself to amatorial incident and social corruption.

Of Roman romances the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius and the *Satiræ* of Petronius, exhibiting in transparent colors the virtues and vices of society, were chief, but the mythological

spirit that impregnated them rendered them of uncertain value and doomed them to oblivion.

Of mediæval romances Italy was at first the play-field as well as the originator; but European writers in general were soon affected by the contagion which swept all other literature out of the way. These romances abounded in epic and amatorial scenes of the most thrilling and sensational character; in heroisms genuine and impossible; in assaults upon maiden virtue and defenses of domestic firesides; in quaint braveries and stupendous cowardices; in wild and extravagant praises of heroes, and severe and pitiless denunciations of timid actions or inaction; but they were the product of the age of chivalry, which stood apart from other ages. The age itself delighted in castles, a soldierly spirit, warfares, abductions, seductions, tournaments, and all those movements that result from morbid excitement and social unrest. It was an age that tended to glorify individual action without elevating the individual; hence the deed was more exalted than the doer.

The modern novel soon appeared, England leading in Richardson, Swift, Defoe, and others. In 1740 Richardson published his *Pamela*, in which he professed to honor womanly virtue in Clarissa Harlowe, and to have in view the elevation of public taste and the refinement of the manners and morals of the people. Pope eulogized his *Pamela*, but others criticised it, declaring that it compromised moral teaching, which is an illustration of the fact that every author will be both applauded and condemned by the critics.

Manzoni pioneered in Italy, Charles Brockden Brown in the United States, Sir Walter Scott in Scotland, Le Sage in France, Jean Paul Richter in Germany, and Hans Christian Andersen in Denmark. On the whole, the modern novel made a good beginning as respects the moral character of the novelists and the ethical vein of their works.

The authorship of the modern novel includes all classes of thinkers and writers: statesmen, as Lytton and Disraeli; poets, as Goethe, Jean Ingelow, and Victor Hugo; ministers, as Macdonald, Beecher, and Eggleston; dramatists, as Fielding and Dumas; travelers, as Marryat and Cooper; philosophers, as Bacon and Rousseau; government officers, as Hawthorne, Trollope, and Collins; musicians, as Samuel Lover; soldiers,

as Logan; lawyers, as Scott and Reade; journalists, as Dickens; agnostics, as Miss Paget; infidels, as Voltaire; Unitarians, as Holmes; Christians, as Holland and Wallace; historians, as Froude, Irving, and Miss Yonge; physicians, as Charles J. Lever; women writing anonymously, as Miss Mulock; women with a pseudonym, as "George Sand;" women with their true names, as H. B. Stowe; women of questionable morals, as "George Eliot;" women of pure life, as Hannah More.

The intermediate stage of the discussion is

II. The Sphere and Scope of the Novel.

This is arrived at by an answer to the question, What is the novel? Let the *New American Cyclopædia* speak: "It is the latest stadium of the epic, and may bear the title of the prose epic of contemporary life." Adam Ohlensläger defines the novel to be "the epos of our time." The epos, or the heroic, is, therefore, the constituent element or ruling idea of the novel.

Peter Bayne* says: "The novel is scientifically definable as a domestic history, in which the whole interest and all the facts are made to combine in the evolution of a tale of love." The amatorial element is accordingly the principal element.

Goethe,† distinguishing between the novel and the drama, says: "In the novel it is chiefly sentiments and events that are exhibited; in the drama it is characters and deeds." On page 24 he also intimates that chance is supreme in the novel, while fate reigns in the drama. The sentimental, the accidental, is the primary idea of the novel.

Augusta J. Evans says: "People read novels merely to be amused, not educated." The amusive element is, therefore, of supreme importance in the novel.

Frederika Bremer says: "In the novel the center of life is man." The biographical element, or humanity in all its phases, is the subject-matter of the successful novelist.

Here we have the epic, the amatorial, the sentimental, the amusive, and the biographical singled out as the sovereign element in fiction, the educational and the ethical being excluded as unnecessary, or at least dispensed with as not vital to this species

* *Essays in Biography and Criticism*, p. 374.

† *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* vol i, p. 23.

of literature. It is quite certain, however, that each sovereign element as herein set forth is defective in those qualities which account for the more celebrated novels, and which will constitute the basal element of the future novel.

To confine the novel to the epic is to confine it to special characters, heroes and heroines—a very limited class—and to trench upon the province of the dramatist. Under this limitation many novels, such as Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, would be boycotted because they are wanting in heroes. Besides, the epic does not intentionally include the ethical; it quite as often excludes it, for the hero is extolled without reference to his moral standing. An heroic act puts in eclipse for the time the moral life of the hero, and the ethical idea vanishes.

To confine the novel to evolutions of love is the principal objection to it, since it excites sensual desire and incites to deeds of wrong in pursuit of forbidden pleasures. Novels with no other aim indulge in lucid descriptions of social habits, embroider passionate impulses with figures of beauty and hope, and awaken delusive and unhealthy conceptions of real life in the minds of their readers. Bent on moving the affectional nature, they pry open doors that should be shut, and disclose secrets that should be kept. The novelist dexterously manipulates scenes and scenery into the "evolution;" he transforms every nook into a lover's retreat, every festival into an opportunity for unlawful arrangements, every flower into a token of love, every syllable into an expression of the heart's confidence, every glance of the eye into a minister of negotiations, and every hand-shake into disguised harlotry. This is the task of this class of novelists, and this is the source of unspeakable mischief and corruption.

Goethe's idea is equally a limited one. To delineate sentiments or events in a passive form without bringing forward the utterer of the sentiment or the doer of the deed, and imposing a sense of responsibility upon the one for what he says and upon the other for what he does, is to fail in the highest representation of life. Such novels are too impersonal, and degenerate into metaphysics. Dickens exhibited "characteristics," Thackeray "characters." We need both characters and characteristics, sentiments and speakers, deeds and doers.

To confine the novel to the humorous, as the remedy for

ennui, is virtually to confine it to wits and triflers. Swift and Lever must supplant Macdonald and H. B. Stowe. Life has its comical side; it should be portrayed. Ingenious plots that convulse the reader, speeches ill-timed, and humor that fails of its point, descriptions of people that provoke smiles, and incidents that reveal the awkwardness and absurdities of our neighbors may enter into the composition of a novel, but never at the expense of ethical principle, and never so as to constitute the substance of the book itself.

The biographical element is not without limitations, as man does not include every thing. Miss Constance F. Woolson depicts natural scenery with rare grace and delicacy, and Jean Paul Richter leaves the impression upon his readers that God is upon the eternal throne. Nature and God are not essentials of the biographical element.

It is not difficult to see that, granting that the novel has ranged with great freedom within these five lines of thought and observation, its field has been narrow, clannish, all too insufficient for a high literary purpose, and entirely unsuited to a broad ethical expression. Its chief defect has been indifference toward ethical relations and the avoidance of moral discipline in its characters as a condition of success or the completeness of life.

It must broaden like the Amazon. It must catch up its tributaries and flow on into the great ocean; it may be epic, sentimental, amusive, and biographical; it should be educational and ethical. It should include every thing—religion, society, philosophy, art, industry, and government; the whole of life, with its underground of principles and its complement of activities and relationships. Its scope should be large enough to take in the sum of responsibilities, moralities, spiritualities, intellectualities, socialities, and physicalities. The novel should be the mirror of life, of Providence, of universal existence.

In its present form it is a photograph of human society, with embellishments, mezzotints, and lighter outlines. The fiction-writers novelize the events of history, and report life in its manifoldness of gradations, in its varieties of excesses, in its strange pusillanimities, and in its noble heroisms. They report human society sometimes in dreadful phases, as does Alexander

Damas; sometimes in pleasant relationships, as does Oliver W. Holmes. Individuals, too, glow with possibilities, as in the hands of Miss Yonge, or swell with ideal aspirations, as in the hands of Goethe, or end life gloomily, as in Ainsworth's novels, or happily, as in Hannah More's.

In keeping with this general statement Wallace reproduces ancient Roman and Jewish life and customs, as in *Ben Hur;* Charlotte Brontë, orphanage life in England, as in *Jane Eyre;* "George Eliot," peasantry life, as in *Adam Bede;* Thackeray, aristocratic life, as in *Vanity Fair;* Dickens, the humble life of the poor, as in *David Copperfield;* Trollope, parliamentary life, as in *Phineas Finn;* Scott, Saxon and Norman life, as in *Ivanhoe;* Miss Braddon, the immoralities of social life, as in *Aurora Floyd;* Hawthorne, Puritan life in New England, as in *The Scarlet Letter;* Cooper, Indian and colonial life, as in *The Last of the Mohicans;* Mrs. E. D. Southworth, Southern life in the United States, as in nearly all her novels; George W. Cable, Southern life also; Oliver W. Holmes, medical and literary life; Samuel Lover, Irish life, as in *Handy Andy;* Manzoni, Church and Italian life, as in *Promessi Sposi;* and Victor Hugo, Catholic and criminal life in France, as in *Les Misérables.* To seize upon life as it is, whether erring or moral, hopeless or hopeful, religious or infidelic, cold or sympathetic, faithful or treacherous, real or ideal, is now the purpose of the novelist, and carried out under these limitations human nature has a wonderful and significant portrayal in his hands. He establishes the doctrine of man's depravity without the aid of the Bible, and so becomes a theologian in his way. He shouts for legislative relief from oppression or evil, and so becomes a reformer. He exhibits the beauty of benevolence, and becomes a teacher of philanthropy. He remorselessly digs a pit for evil-doers, and becomes a police judge. He does sometimes point to the Saviour, and so becomes a preacher of righteousness. Viewed merely in their relations to life, novels may be readily classified, since every trait, faculty, emotion, activity, purpose, and form of thought is taken up, analyzed, and employed with appropriate scenic phenomena by the novelist.

This prepares the way for the injection of the ethical element, which has occupied an obscure position and had a too indifferent expression from the novelist. Like the Copts of Egypt

our fiction-writers have been resting on crutches as they have worshiped at the shrine of their ideals; they should throw them away and come forth, vigorous and strong, with healthy moral ideas, ready to leap like furies against wrong, or like angels with blessings for the good. If the novel can carry historical, scientific, social, artistic, and philosophical ideas, impregnating human thought with lower conceptions of life and duty, why can it not herald moral sentiments, and, like Sinai, shake society to its foundations? If it can load up with misanthropy and philanthropy, avarice and benevolence, honor and dishonor, why is there not room in its wide arms for the commandments of God?

The final proposition is:

III. The Ethics of the Novel.

Ethics is not the chief feature of mathematics, or sculpture, or natural scenery, or medical science; it is related rather to jurisprudence, human conduct, social life, governmental administration, and religious activity. It is no longer a question if the novel can avoid moral issues and be innocent; its avoidance of ethical ends is its condemnation. It is not pictorial delineation, nor exact faithfulness to nature, nor correct portrayal of the harmonies of human life, nor a reproduction of the various phases of social action and kinship, nor the intellectual elements of the volume that finally adjudicate in its favor or against it. Many facts are quoted in defense of it: it stimulates the reading habit; it enlarges one's vocabulary; it improves one's literary style. But these things are like the grains and scruples in the scales, while the pound-weight is the ethical notion of the novelist.

Preliminarily, it must be ascertained if there be an established ethical standard to which the novelist is amenable, what that standard is, and how his responsibility to it shall be expressed. In general terms there is an ethical standard to which the common thought of civilized nations turns, but in particular terms there are several ethical standards before the mind of the average novelist raised up by moralists, non-moralists, and the quacking positivism of the times, confusing his perceptions, confounding his conceptions, and paralyzing his conclusions. The scientific or naturalistic, in opposition to the supernatural-

istic standard of right and wrong eulogized by Spencer affects not a little the thought as well as the conduct of men. Its chief defect is, that as a standard it is not absolute; the morality it enjoins is relative; conduct is a growth; virtue and vice are not inalienable contradictions. National ethics, or the consensus of a nation, or a national conviction in opposition to a universal or world-wide system of morality, often determines the moral tone of a novel. Hence, with rare exceptions, the French is below the English novel in its ethical content, because England's idea of right and wrong is superior to that of France. Again, the impressionist school of writers, tinged largely with agnosticism, is found every-where, but without definite conceptions, or with no deliberate definition or expression of them. To describe human feeling and analyze human action without pronouncing upon the ethical character or tendency of either the feeling or action is all that the novelist undertakes, the solution of the moral problem being left to the individual judgment of the reader. Superior to all these is the absolute and unambiguous moral code of the New Testament, which some novelists seem never to have consulted, and which others seem to regard as an unapproachable ideal except in thought or reverie, and, therefore, to be ignored in the confused activities of human society. To this higher standard, however, the novelist must at last conform if he would retain his hold upon the future. Over this problem he fights his first battle.

His second study relates to the representation of the ideal or the actual, or both, in his romance. He desires freedom, but the real in life binds him; he wishes to be exact and true, but the ideal takes him beyond well-defined limitations; and if he essays to combine the two, it is very like uniting a storm and a calm. The necessity of ideals in art, religion, literature, and mechanics is granted, as inspirations to service and achievement; the pulpit teaches an ideal holiness; Angelo painted ideal portraits; Macaulay is an ideal prose-writer; Edison is an ideal inventor; and the ideal is usually more potential in influence than the actual. Ideal persons or likenesses or projects are, therefore, permissible; "beings of the mind and not of clay" may stalk proudly amid the scenes of the fiction-wright, and projects as extravagant as any ever conceived by Jules Verne are legitimate and without reproach.

Again, the conscientious novelist cannot but be disturbed by the general supposition that novels abound in falsehoods, and that the false is as supposably admissible in this kind of literature as the true. As at the first he must distinguish between the real and the ideal, so now he must remember the difference between the true and the false, employing in the latter case only the true, as in the former he might employ both real and ideal. The charge of the false in fiction is serious; it is to be separated from the charge of the ideal and the improbable. Bishop Frangén once said that the novel represents "an event that never happened," but this could be said of an ideal incident if presented as ideal. To report the false as true, knowing it to be false; and knowing that the falsehood could be exposed and that the effect would be pernicious, is inexcusable even in a novelist. Sir Walter Scott was accused of weaving falsehoods into his *Tales of the Crusaders*; but Ruskin says he did not understand the feudalism and chivalry he describes. Mrs. Radcliffe's geographical mistakes are obvious to the geographer, and should not be characterized as falsehoods when they merely betray ignorance. Ignorance of history, science, the principles of political economy, moral reforms, social customs, and religious dogmas must not be confounded with intended misrepresentation of them. It is very certain that every historian has not written an exact and truthful history, and that every traveler has not identified lost or buried cities, or correctly traced the boundaries of tribes and described movements of armies. Without apologizing in the least for the novelist's errors in these particulars, he should not be held to a more strict account than historians, poets, or travelers; but the critical demand for correct history, grammar, geography, and science of the novelist may be accepted as the prelude to the higher demand now making for correct ethical teaching, which he can no more disregard than the other.

Another problem confronting the novelist is the form in which the ethical notion shall be exhibited. Agreeing that there is a moral standard to which he is responsible, how shall he manage to discharge the responsibility? Can he afford to evade it, or silence his conscience, or obscure his teaching, or rebel against the moral instincts of the race? Miss Edgeworth says the moral idea need not be "sewed on in purple patches,"

but "interwoven with the very texture of the stuff"—a method of ethical expression to be commended, but still not as exclusive as other methods, or to be accepted as the final and absolute method.

Novelists do not consent that they are commissioned to formulate systems of morality, or that they must enforce even popular notions of right and wrong by quotations of law, human and divine, or that they are appointed to defend dogmatic notions of righteousness; but that they accomplish their purpose and serve the ethical notion when, by the results of individual action, they make it possible to infer whether the action is right or wrong. If they allegorize the ethical conception, yet so that it will be discovered; if they submit it in irony, or satire, or humor; if the outcome of right-doing is reward, and of wrong-doing suffering and retribution, they regard their duty performed, and the moral tone of the novel, they declare, is unimpeachable.

Minute references in substantiation of this exhibit, or that the ethical notion is "interwoven" or "sewed on" and constitutes a basal element of novel literature, are germane to the proposition now under discussion. Granting that vice is symbolized in this species of literature to a sufficient extent, it is gratifying to recall that there is not a moral trait of character that is not beautifully and conspicuously emblazoned in many ways by some of the novelists of the British Isles, Europe, and America. As hints along this line we subjoin the following:

1. *Integrity* as illustrated in *Phineas Finn* and *Adam Bede*. 2. *Temperance* in T. S. Arthur and Mrs. E. P. Wood. 3. *Home-life* in Miss Yonge. 4. *Repentance* in the character of Malvoti in *John Inglesant*, and St. Elmo Murray in *St. Elmo*. 5. *Vanities of social life* in Thackeray. 6. *Avarice and benevolence* in Dickens. 7. *Pride and prejudice* in Miss Jane Austen. 8. *Unwise love* in Rhoda Broughton's novels. 9. *Female virtue* in Rebecca in *Ivanhoe;* in Cora Monroe in *The Last of the Mohicans;* in Jane Eyre from Charlotte Bronté; in Edna Earl from Augusta J. Evans. 10. *Marriage* for social position condemned, as that of Lady Laura Standish to Lord Kennedy in Trollope; and for convenience, as that proposed by Mr. St. John to Jane Eyre. 11. *Remorse*, as Javert commits suicide—*vide* Victor Hugo. 12. *True manhood recognized*,

as Jean Valjean in *Les Misérables*. 13. *Human sympathies*, as in "George Eliot," George W. Cable, and Lucy R. Comfort. The philosopher Mackintosh approved fiction because it "creates and nourishes sympathy." 14. *Retribution*, as evil comes to grief in Sir Walter Scott's novels and Hawthorne's. In *Ivanhoe* Sir Reginald Front de Bœuf is severely punished for cruelty and avarice, and in *The Scarlet Letter* Hester Prynne suffers a life-time for trifling with her virtue. "An evil deed," says Hawthorne, "invests itself with the character of doom." 15. *Religion recognized*. Frederika Bremer said: "The novel is baptized in the life of Christianity." In *Ben-Hur*, *Les Misérables*, *Paul Faber*, and *John Inglesant* religious ideas control.

The list might be indefinitely extended, or sufficiently so to prove that every vice is condemned and every virtue approved, directly or indirectly, by novelists well known and ranking high in the literary world; but the outline given must be taken as a key to the entire department of inquiry. Every thing, good and bad, may be found in the novel literature of the world: crimes of all sorts, on the one hand, as a part of life; on the other hand, all the virtues, graces, and ornaments of humanity, either in naked simplicity and beauty or embellished with all the attractions that fancy could suggest or genius invent.

In proof of this statement we have undertaken to classify novel literature with respect to its ethical tendencies and teachings, basing the conclusions on the novels themselves; and, whether mistaken or not, we submit the classification.

1. *Novels characterized by an ethical spirit not wholesome, but derogatory to high morality.* What constitutes an ethical action? Is any human act barren of an ethical content, or of moral relations? As we understand it, whatever produces character, or is the product of character; whatever is the sign of character, or is in any wise or to any degree related to human life, is endowed with moral function, and serves a moral purpose. Hence, every word, gesture, tone, glance, facial expression, habit, deed, costume, is involved either in auxiliary or dynamic relation to character. If, therefore, injustice, cruelty, avarice, jealousy, envy, slander, theft, lust, arson, intemperance, and murder, on the one hand; or justice, kindness, sympathy, generosity, honesty, truth, sobriety, and righteousness, occupy

even obscure places in the novel, the receptive and searching mind of the reader may discover, observe, and incorporate them into his own life. In the class of novels now under consideration the evil spirit exercises a supreme influence, and the ethical idea is lost sight of like a single flower in a grove of aspens. We place here, therefore, some novels of great celebrity, because the evil phases of life predominate with no positive censure of wrong, and no final elimination of wrong, as injurious either to the individual or society.

Of this class Henry Fielding, the English novelist, is an example. As his own life was not the purest, and as he aimed to represent human nature as he understood it, it is not surprising that his novels, notwithstanding their literary excellence, were pernicious in influence. Of his *History of Tom Jones, a Foundling*, Dr. Johnson said: "I scarcely know a more corrupt book." His *Amelia* was not an improvement.

William Harrison Ainsworth, in selecting robbers for his heroes, properly belongs to the "gallows school of literature," and his earlier works, *Jack Sheppard* and *Rookwood*, are especially to be shunned by youth of evil propensities.

Crabillon, Rousseau (in *Julie and Emile*), "George Sand" (in *Indiana* and *Rose et Blanche*), and Honore de Balzac (in *The Vendetta*, *The Last Chouan*, and *Eugénie Grandet*), all French writers, depict social life in corrupt relations and deprave the morals of their readers. More aggravatingly pernicious than these are the works of Alexander Dumas, both of father and son, whose tragedies in particular are so reprehensible that the French themselves have denounced them.

Charles Reade, the English lawyer, may be singled out for special criticism. His *Griffith Gaunt* exposed him to the taunt of the *Round Table* for its indecencies, while *It is Never too Late to Mend* was abhorred by the *Westminster Review*. Blot out every page that he has written, and literature would suffer no loss, while the public conscience would thrill with a sense of gain. Heinse, the German novelist, who invests "sensuality with the graces of art;" and "Ouida," with her twenty-seven novels, and Hugh Conway for writing *A Cardinal Sin*, deserve equal reprobation.

Mary J. Holmes (see *Tempest and Sunshine*), Celia E. Gardner (see *Stolen Waters*), Augusta J. Evans (see *St. Elmo*),

Mrs. E. D. Southworth (see *A Beautiful Fiend* and *The Spectre Lover*), all American writers, are unwholesome in moral teaching, and to be banished from our tables and libraries. Mary Cecil Hay (see *The Arundel Motto*), Bertha M. Clay (see *Madolin's Lover*), are to be avoided as most damaging to moral aspirations, and destructive of moral sensibility.

We have reserved Charles Dickens for the last place in this *Index Librorum Prohibitorum.* Perhaps it is too early to attempt definitely to settle his place among the novelists; we certainly shall not enjoy the distinction of assigning his novels a place in the group of disreputable writings now before us. No one will dispute that he was skilled in plotting, that he excelled as a literary artist, that human sympathy, benevolent impulse, and heroic action are powerfully portrayed in his works, and that he has characterized English life as one may daily observe it in its trueness, and socially in its wholeness; but these excellences are compatible with disordered ethics, and in this article he is judged purely from an ethical standpoint and therefore condemned. Our criticism is, not that he is absent minded on moral questions, but that he is keenly alive to them, and thrusts them through with the dagger's point. He fails first where he might have succeeded in rendering moral service to his readers. He does not help men on the ethical side of life. He propagates no religious dogma and no religious spirit. The Christian, as such, has no recognition in his works, or if at all recognized he is a blundering representative or an ignoble failure. He does not admit religion as a potent factor in society or human life. It has been said that he "never draws a religious character except it be in caricature;" his clergymen are villains; his Christians hide-bound traditionalists; his death-scenes pathetic because of the outburst of human sorrow, but not grand, because there is no Saviour in them. If the ethical notion gives the casting vote as to the future of a novel, Charles Dickens, as one of the greatest novelists of modern times, will be retired from the public confidence and from his high place in literature. Already the signs of retirement are visible and multiplying, for he is not read as in former years.

2. *Novels whose ethical teaching or influence is unexpressed, or obscure, or passive, or entirely absent.*—The fine arts have not troubled themselves with ethical questions: they have con-

cerned themselves with the perfection of form, the outline and expression of beauty, and the evidence of skill and genius in the work performed. "Life is a fine art," says J. H. Shorthouse, but it is not at liberty in civilized lands to show its nakedness as it does in Ethiopia. Novels written from the stand-point of art seem to ignore the moral idea altogether, but in a most fascinating manner, and without shocking the reader or even impressing him that it is ignored. In such cases the ethical notion is not condemned or violated, but merely forgotten or only referred to abstractly; hence its importance disappears and its power is undermined.

The novels issued by the Minerva Press, such as *The Castle of Otranto*, by Walpole, and *The Fool of Quality*, by Henry Brooke, were of this character. Charles Lamb characterized their heroes as "persons neither of this world nor of any conceivable one," and as exhibiting "an endless string of activities without purpose, of purposes without a motive." Such novels could not long survive; but their successors, acute with intellectual inquiry and full of social earnestness, are much like them in moral deficiency and emptiness of moral enthusiasm. In this list must be registered William Black (see *A Princess of Thule*); Henry James (see *The Princess Casamassima*); Miss Paget (see *A Phantom Lover*); the English agnostic, Mrs. Frances Trollope, with her forty volumes; Samuel Lover (see *Treasure Trove*), and, last of all, Mrs. Margaret Oliphant, a distinguished novelist of the impressionist school, who believes that society is under a law of progression which carries it forward in moral as well as intellectual and industrial life, and that the moral idea is itself undergoing transmutation and is without fixed or absolute qualities or distinctions. Her great reputation is founded on *Chronicles of Cardingford;* but it is a question if the impressionists, of which she is an illustrious exponent, will survive any longer than the Minerva Press fictionists.

3. *Novels whose ethical content, like a pearl in the sea, is hidden and must be sought to be found.*—These differ from the preceding in that those are devoid of the ethical notion while these possess it; *they* treat it as if it did not exist, these recognize it but almost bury it out of sight. Novelists of the present type are not without positive moral conceptions, but they

prefer not to be known as moralists. They do not dress their moral ideas in red coats like English soldiers, to be known and seen at once and from afar; but they incline to sound principles and build their stories on a safe ethical basis. *Ben-Hur* was written, as its author now declares, to counteract the virus of Ingersollism, but no one would suspect it as one reads that incomparable book. The moral excellence of the novel goes without saying, but appears in another phase entirely. To this class we must assign Mrs. Miriam Coles Harris (see *Rutledge*, one of her earliest, and *Phœbe*, one of her latest novels); Miss Jane Austen, whose works Archbishop Whately commended; the German novelist, Kruse, who exhibits guilt or innocence in his characters by circumstantial evidence, and then pronounces a moral verdict accordingly; Captain Frederick Marryat, the "sea-scribe" (see *Peter Simple* and his *Diary in America*); Mrs. E. P. Wood (see *East Lynne*), and Richard H. Dana (see *Tom Thornton*). Captain Marryat is egotistical, but is moral; Mrs. Wood is prolix, but is refined; Mrs. Harris is not sensational, as is Mrs. Southworth, but her moral teaching is a hundred-fold better; and Mr. Dana, while reserved, is high-toned and decorous.

4. *Novels with an evident decline of the ethical spirit.*— To admit that famous writers have lost faith in the ethical notion, or gradually but surely eliminated it from their works, is painful in the extreme; to name such writers, with proofs of the charges, is a burden not to be coveted, but to be assumed if we discharge our whole duty. We do no injustice to Marian Evans ("George Eliot") if we affirm that beginning well, as in *Scenes of Clerical Life* and *Adam Bede*, she degenerated fearfully, as in *Felix Holt*, and more especially in *Daniel Deronda*. From *Adam Bede* to *Daniel Deronda* the descent is rapid and toward the gulf, accounted for in part by the intricacies of her own moral life or her personal degeneracy.

Here, too, the fixed judgment of posterity will place William Makepeace Thackeray, the verdict of the critics of his own generation having prepared the way for the final condemnation of the future. The chief literary characteristics of Thackeray are his realism, as to human life, and his excellent English style, as to expression. He avoids exaggeration, and prefers dullness, which is not rare in men, to falsehood of representation. He

never sacrifices truth to gain brilliancy. He is satirical and humorous in form rather than speech, and skillful in plotful scenes. Of his prominent works, *Vanity Fair*, *The History of Pendennis*, *The Newcomes*, *The History of Henry Esmond, Esq.*, occupy the first rank; but, valuing these according to a strict ethical standard, they are a disappointment. As to his other works, some of them compromise moral principles, while others completely surrender the ethical notion. In *The Virginians* his view of life is altogether secular; in *Lovell the Widower* the "moral deterioration" of the author is altogether obvious; while in *The Adventures of Philip on His Way through the World*, the moral collapse is complete. The *London Athenæum* years ago objected to "his habitual mode of balancing good and evil," but in later life he trifled with ethical conceptions and indulged in a carelessness of expression strikingly contrasting with his former elevation of tone and purity of language.

Goethe deserves a more specific condemnation. So odious was his private life, so vulnerable his intellectual view of things, so irreverent his theological conceptions, and so sensualistic his fictions that he should have taken membership in our first group of condemned novelists; but he can be represented here quite as satisfactorily. His corrupt relations with Christiane Vulpius, a cultureless and an inferior woman, which he openly justified, both before and after the birth of their son; and that he postponed marriage—the only atonement possible—so long as even to excite the hatred of the Germans, are proofs of Goethe's predispositions and explanations of the immoralities in his novels. The general verdict respecting *Elective Affinities*, in which he teaches that the sexes are drawn together like "chemical affinities," is uncompromisingly hostile, for the doctrine would undermine social order and the family institution. He insists that whatever is "natural is right;" a sentiment that is at the bottom of his own licentious conduct, and in substance always quoted by the libertine and the criminal. His greatest work, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, should be a forbidden book. Indecent actresses, like Philina, seductions, pregnancies, *liaisons*, dancings, drinkings, theaters, duels, Wilhelm himself seducer and mistress-monger, make up volumes first and second, with more attention to art, industry, and

philosophy in the third volume; but, as a whole, it deserves repudiation. Religion occupies no place in his thought, God is scarcely recognized, and he writes with no moral purpose in view, except to satirize it or overcome it.

5. *Novels relating to the vicious and virtuous sentiments, with a high ethical purpose ever in view, and on the whole commendatory.*—Charlotte Brontë did not write many novels, but the few she wrote secured her an enviable fame. Her *Jane Eyre* is certainly a remarkable production; but we have "somewhat against thee." Her clergymen are of the baser sort; and she is both realistic and materialistic. If a man is not a genuine man without a "slice of the devil" in him, and if all women are as cruel and heartless as Mrs. Reed, our humanity is in a barbaric condition. Still, this book is on the whole readable and elevating.

Mrs. Radcliffe, Vert Reber, and Berthold Auerbach, in depicting real life, expose too much of evil, but there is a recovery of the right view of man's condition and responsibility before they conclude their romances, justifying their publication and reading.

As to Benjamin Disraeli critics differ in their estimates, because he was intensely personal, but it must be allowed that he was usually honorable; and honor is the soul of redemption. In *Vivian Grey* he wrote autobiographically, and was less severe; in *Contarini Fleming* he was more religious, but not less personal; in *The Young Duke* and *The Risk of Iskander* he offended fashionable society, but the exposures were candidly made; while in *Lothair*, a political novel, in which living characters but thinly disguised were introduced, he exhibited the same personal habit, but an elevated moral purpose, and so deserves consideration rather than contempt.

6. *Novels whose ethical teaching exhibits an evolution, or a tendency to higher conceptions of right and wrong.*—In "George Eliot," Thackeray, and Goethe we trace a decline, but in Sir Bulwer Lytton, Wilkie Collins, O. W. Holmes, and others the swing of thought is upward. Sir Bulwer Lytton has deserved all the censure he has received, for the majority of his novels have not contributed to the moral elevation of society. He is pathetic in incident, eloquent in speech and action, thoughtful and decisive in great issues and emergen-

cies, philosophical in analysis of character and in exposition of the social relations, but he is not on guard against the fascinations of vice, or the probable effects of a too-natural likeness of forbidden sins and pleasures. He spices his earlier stories with vicious compounds that intoxicate his readers and prepare them for the commission and enjoyment of what he describes. In *Pelham* social and moral obligations are snapped without hesitation or remorse; in *Eugene Aram* the whole superstructure is pernicious; in *Lucretia* the ethical notion is abhorred; in *Rienzi*, the Roman tribune who, according to Gibbon, had the "vices of a king," the same betrayal of a corrupt spirit is manifest. But in *The Caxtons* he employs his highest powers in defense of a recognition of Providence in human affairs, vindicates the law of retribution in the settlement of the relations of vice and virtue, and inclines toward righteousness as the necessity of the present life. As a man he was better than his novels; as a novel-writer, his motive was to be true in representation, which carried him too far to the wrong side; but seeing the necessity for a more specific utterance of ethical sentiment he at last hesitated not to declare it.

Wilkie Collins passed through a similar experience, but in a different way and from a different motive. His earlier works were extravagant and untrue to human nature, and left a false impression of life, as Lytton's left a true, but unwholesome, impression. One was as unfortunate as the other. Lytton dealt in vices; Collins in superstitions and misrepresentations. In *The Two Destinies* Collins carries the reader into morbid and fanciful areas of thought, into Spiritualism, with its cognate possibilities of marital looseness, and toward certain questionable religious ideas and suppositions. From this state of mind Collins himself finally turned, and his mind became "healthier," and his moral ideas cleaner and purer.

Novelists whose theology is of a "liberal" cast, or who are avowed Unitarians, belong to the present group. Colonel T. W. Higginson (see *The Monarch of Dreams*), W. D. Howells, and O. W. Holmes (see *The Professor at the Breakfast-Table*, *The Guardian Angel*, and *Elsie Venner*), are, wholesome teachers of social purity and moral decorum. While they may not satisfy the rigid *doctrinaire*, and may

sometimes offend a chaste orthodoxy in religion, they stand as exponents of safe moral views and must be approved.

7. *Novels whose ethical distinctions, enforcements, and impressions harmonize with the highest ideals of life and the most advanced code of religious morality.*—Horace Walpole said Hannah More's "writings promote virtue." Her *Cœlebs in Search of a Wife* is a specimen novel, perhaps her best. She fitly introduces this class, of which there is a large number.

The most voluminous novelist of modern times is G. P. R. James, who began writing stories when seventeen years old, and, encouraged by Washington Irving, continued until he had spun nearly two hundred novels, many of which, like *Richelieu*, which Sir Walter Scott indorsed, and *The Castle of Ehrenstein*, are popular and useful. His fictions are in an historical vein, and have stood the test of historical criticism. But he has been condemned for monotony of style and repetition of scenes in his novels. The plots are the same; the characters differ little from one another. He delighted in reproducing in one form what he had matured in another. Hence, E. P. Whipple said he was "a maker of books," but not "a maker of thoughts." Ethically considered, however, the *Edinburgh Review* declared that he is "animated by a spirit of sound and healthy morality in feeling;" and Sir Archibald Allison affirms that "not a word or thought which can give pain to the purest heart escapes from his pen." This is the highest eulogy.

Of Jean Paul Richter (see *Titan*), Anthony Trollope (see (*Dr. Thorne*), Jean Ingelow (see *Sarah de Berenger*), Miss Mulock (see *John Halifax, Gentleman*), "The Duchess" (see *Portia*), and Miss Yonge (see *The Daisy Chain* and *Clever Women*), it is enough to say that they relieve the novel of odium and show its possibility as a moral teacher.

Such American novelists as H. B. Stowe, J. F. Cooper, Benjamin Eggleston, E. P. Roe, George W. Cable, General Lew Wallace, Harriet B. Spofford, Frank Stockton, D. G. Mitchell, "C. E. Craddock," and Henry Ward Beecher have exalted the novelist's profession and illustrated the relation of the novel to moral reforms and philanthropic movements.

Gladstone said of Sir Walter Scott, who wrote about thirty novels, "He died a great man, and, what is more, a good man." Hannah More said of him, "He is rather a non-moralist than

an anti-moralist;" but this criticism is hardly just, for he belonged not to the school of impressionists. He believed in the Christian religion, and enforced its teachings with fervor and illustration. George Macdonald (see *Paul Faber, Surgeon*), influenced in his fictions by the Christian faith, may be read with perfect safety.

Victor Hugo is chief of French writers. His *Les Misérables* is a monumental work, unexcelled in novel literature either for the purity of its style, the fullness of its scenes, the characterization of human life, the description of events, or the fine moral sense exhibited in the portrayal of the social relations. "Jean Valjean" and "Bishop of D——" are characters perhaps a trifle overdrawn, but impressive in moral bearing, and perfect as benevolent models. Immortality is set forth as a motive to right living, and death is made beautiful by its transfiguration into life.

The most important philosophical and religious romance of the day is *John Inglesant*, by J. H. Shorthouse, in which holiness is triumphant in Mary Collet's life, spirituality stands every test in Molinos, a Spanish priest, and Jesuitism and Protestantism come in diplomatic and natural collision in John Inglesant, with the final verdict in favor of the Church of England.

Nathaniel Hawthorne must close the list. His novels are regarded as of superior merit in literary finish, in soulful and pathetic tenderness, and for a chaste and elevated purpose. If one read *Mosses from an Old Manse*, or *The Scarlet Letter*, or *The House of the Seven Gables*, or *The Marble Faun*, one will be impressed that the author was chiefly anxious to record the existence of a law of retribution for sin and the certainty of reward for uprightness and obedience.

As a reviewer we are justified in holding an opinion, and append the following as a deliberate expression of judgment:

1. The novel is not deteriorating; on the contrary, it has greatly improved in moral tone in fifty years, and indicates speedy absorption and assimilation of the ethical notion as the remedy for its inherent or constitutional infirmity. England is beyond Smollett and Sterne; Germany is beyond Goethe and Heinse; France is beyond Voltaire, Balzac, and Dumas; and the United States will outgrow Mrs. Southworth and Mrs. Holmes.

2. Discrimination in reading novels is a necessity. The bad, like Jeremiah's figs, are very bad; the good, very good. There is room for choice, there is necessity for sifting, and knowing the wholesome from the pernicious. It is a question if youth should read novels to any great extent. History, poetry, biography, and travels are better than novels. The novel may be taken up later in life. The order of reading is unnatural, and should be reversed. Youth is imaginative, and should cultivate the acquaintance of solid literature; age is non imaginative, and might read fiction to advantage; but the order is, that imaginative minds should read fiction, and non-imaginative minds historical and solid literature. Hence, novelists write largely for youth. The old rather than the young, the learned rather than the ignorant, the righteous rather than the sensual, the sober rather than lovers of pleasure, might have access to fiction; but no class should continue to read novels until the taste for this kind of literature is acutely developed, for the effect is usually ruinous, and the restoration of other tastes and habits almost impossible.

3. Wholesale denunciation of novel literature is unwise and useless.

4. The novel is a powerful factor in society, and must be recognized. It would better be employed as an instrument of righteousness than as an instrument of evil. It has promoted reforms, stimulated philanthropies, encouraged moralities. With a broadened mission, it may become the ally of the pulpit, home, and country.

5. As religion dominates the individual life the unhealthy novel will disappear, and romances in which pure ethics abounds will multiply, and invigorate the tired and sinful world. Truth will impregnate thought, society, literature, civil institutions, civilization itself, demanding of all men visible conformity to blameless ideals; and the result will be, the purest novel will be the most popular, and the holiest page will survive the generation for which it is written. J. W. Mendenhall.

EDITORIAL.

INTRODUCTORY.

In response to the elective order of the General Conference of 1888 we emerge from the presiding eldership into our new responsibility with the present issue of the *Review*. Except a few minor suggestions from us, and an article or two in the miscellaneous department, it is proper to state that the July number is wholly from the supervising hand of that experienced editor and scholarly author, the Rev. Dr. Wise, who has ably and satisfactorily conducted the publication since the death of its venerable editor, the Rev. Daniel Curry, D.D., LL.D.

It is needless to remind the Church of the exalted position of the *Review* in our periodical world, and of the critical attitude that attaches to its editorship. Its regular appearance from series old to series new; its career as a monthly, as a quarterly, and for a quadrennium as a bimonthly; its commanding influence on the progressive movements of Methodism; its transparent affiliation with the highest Christian sentiment of the times; its expressed sympathy with the broadest culture, coupled with its promotion of the largest intellectual opportunities; and its heroic defense of American institutions and the Gospel-guaranteed and constitutionally-affirmed rights of man, are too well known to require recapitulation. From the establishment of the *Methodist Magazine* in 1818 to the issuance of the *Quarterly Review* in 1840, and for nearly fifty years succeeding, the periodical has been in the front rank of our denominational warfares, literary and theological, sounding notes of alarm as dangers were foreseen, entering into contests justified by the spirit of self-defense as they suddenly or slowly arose, shouting over non-reactionary victories when they were achieved, and accepting with good grace the defeats when they were announced, but turning them into preparations for other struggles that the future made inevitable. For, in the controversial days of Methodism our entire press, the newspaper, the tract, the book, and the magazine stood together in vindication of the common faith, and rejoiced together in what from time to time they considered a secured advance for the theology they represented and for the educational work of the Church they were advocating. Literature and theology, in their widest acceptation, were the objectives of the editorial fraternity of Methodism during the brief epoch of controversy now known to us as historic, and therefore closed. In this historic period the *Review* exercised its share of influence, impressing the Church at large that it could be depended upon to maintain the tenets of the fathers, and attracting the attention of other denominations by the vigor, the manliness, the sincere headstrongness and skillful diplomacy of its editorial management in the establishment of its doctrinal foundation, and in the propagation of the

general sentiments of religion. Giants, perhaps not greater than those of other days, or other Churches, have occupied the editorial tripod, and swayed with some degree of pardonable pride the lettered multitudes within the circumference of their influence. They held to truth as they understood it, and their work was wholesome and far-reaching.

In taking up the feathered pen of those who have laid it down, the history of their work re-appears with all the force of a revelation, impressing us with the magnitude of the task delivered to our keeping. What the *Review* has been, what it is, and what it should be to answer anticipations and demands, are questions of absorbing interest to the Church at large, and especially to us who must stand for its future conduct and influence. As we recall the track laying work of George Peck, the versatile and elegant service of John McClintock, the profound labors and educational fertility of D. D. Whedon, and the broad and catholic aims and efforts of Daniel Curry, our predecessors in office, we would shrink from any attempt to repeat what they have done, or to equal them in their specialties, if that were our duty. The work of the predecessor was individual, and is now historic; he wrought his ideal, regulated only by the common sentiment of loyalty to truth and the Church. Our work must be allowed its idiosyncrasy, and, brief or long, will likewise pass into the sepulcher of history.

We accept the guardianship of the *Review* with the recognition of a general demand for its modification in some particulars, thus foreseeing an unoutlined specialty to be formulated and executed by us. Exactly what changes were contemplated by the General Conference were not affirmed by legislation or suggestive resolution, or any form of instruction. We can only infer them, therefore, from the *consensus* of the Church. Whether the *Review* shall be a monthly, a bimonthly, or a quarterly has been answered by the non-action of the Conference on the subject. If a change in form, typography, or mechanical appearance is desired, of which, however, no information has reached the office, it may be secured through the co-operation of the Book Agents and the Book Committee.

Instructed by common report, which is as authoritative as a legislative act, *a change in the character of the magazine is imperative*, but such change, even if clearly defined, cannot be inaugurated at once or without the most careful consideration of consequences to all the interests involved. It may not be scientific, but it is religious, to consider consequences. Evidently the requirement for reconstruction is the outgrowth, not of any previous or alleged failure of scholarship, or inability to perceive and interpret the marching phenomena of the age, or of a conservatism that mocks at heroic advances, but of rapidly and inevitably developing tendencies in literature, philosophy, and theology, and of the necessity of immediate adjustment to the new phosphoric age, whose dawn even half-opened eyes can discern. Historically, the *Review* has been abreast, if not in the van, of its age, clearing the way before it, and shedding an auxiliary influence along all lines of human elevation. It must maintain its old-time and

distinct leadership on the new programme of to-day, voicing the latest discoveries of truth with a generous enthusiasm, and announcing the evident openings of Providence in all the realms of life with all religiousness and thanksgiving. It has always exhibited a scholarly spirit and gained in power as it was affluent with the rhetoric, the logic, and the originalities of thinkers. It cannot now decline in intellectual gravity, or exchange its substantial, age-knit robes for the more popular dress of the secular magazine, or the loose and gauzy attire of the common pamphlet, or transform itself into the organ of partisanship or sectarianism. In its adherence to Methodism, as the best expression of Christianity, it has been unchangeable. It will continue to set forth our doctrines as substantial truth, and the constitution of the General Conference, as prescribed in paragraphs 63-72 of the Discipline, as coherent and inviolable. Its defense of the Arminian form of theology has never been apologetic or wavering; believing in it as the all-conquering type of Christian thought, we must not only defend but propagate it.

If in these respects there is no call for change, it must be allowed that in other directions there may be some freedom of action and some independence of pursuit. If the functions of the *Review* may be enlarged or more clearly defined without compromising its fundamental character, and its departmental features may be so reorganized as to conform the whole to modern taste and culture, the anticipation of change will be partly, if not completely, accommodated. If we rightly interpret the antecedent demand of the Church, it is that the *Review* shall be modernized in tone, method, and end, and become a leavening factor in our literary and theological life. Guided by this interpretation, antiquity and ultra-conservatism must not dominate its departments; it must not appear as a mausoleum of literary remains; its contributors must not consist of a close corporation of sectional writers; its pages must not be the refuge of students who covet embalmment as the surest means of historic renown; it must not be a mere reference, or shelf-hid, magazine; but it must assert itself as a potent instrument in the current strifes of the Church with the doctrinal errors of modern thinkers and teachers. It is not a relic of departed giants, but a scabbardless scimeter to be used in every day encounter with agnosticism, Old Testament criticism, and all the cognate upheavals in the path of Christian culture and progress.

This endows the *Review* with a new function, and entitles it to a new and broader recognition. Its place is not the quiet hammock in the Summer or the cell of the student in the Winter, but always the arena of combat, where intellectual charlatanry prevails, where the diplomacy of evil is in exercise, where the biblicist is threatened with a cannon-ball, where truth is gashed by the arch-fiend of hell. Its place is the center of conflict, not for glory, but for truth, which is ever in issue. Truth is the relation of things in right order. The task of the lover of truth is to put things that are in disorder in right relations. He will find the pyramid on its apex; he must reverse its position. He will find the natural in authority over the spiritual; he must restore the supremacy of the latter. Error

seems free; truth seems in bonds; he must emancipate the one and destroy the other. This means not ease, nor play, nor amusement, but sword-thrusting, soul-risking, man-elevating, God-helping work. It means a courageous attack on error, forms, institutions, creeds, so-called laws, working hypotheses, compromises, neutralities, masked foes, veiled prophets, woolen-clothed gods, and all the genii of the deep darkness of ignorance and unrighteousness.

The Christian scholar, satisfied with the travail of his soul, prefers solitude, but solitude is treason to the travail of the world; he must, therefore, come forth clothed with a coat-of-mail, speaking the talismanic word, striking the Titanic blow, fearing nothing. He is no less the scholar in the front line of open-air danger than in the dungeon; Socrates was philosopher on the battle-field as in the shops of Athens. We do not choose new defenders of truth; we merely summon them forth into the daylight of activity.

It would be ungenerous as well as untrue to intimate that this kind of warfare has been foreign to the *Review*, but it is not untrue to say that in these days the impending struggles of the Church with the world—struggles apocalyptic in character and significance—are more exacting upon the wisdom, patience, and courage of the defenders of truth than ever before; more heroic step-taking is required; keener self-explanation is asked; more rigid proof of dogmatic faith is requested. The age has followed the swing of the pendulum to the heights of inquiry; the form of conflict is different; the voice of authority is hushed by the louder call of reason; and truth, bruised and bleeding, must offer new credentials of identity and power. It is not a poetic fight before us: it is not the jeweled hand, but the imperious sword-thrust, with God directing, that will conquer. Negotiations with Dagon as to a compromising surrender are not in order; he must be decapitated, quartered, ground to powder. Heretofore, and by virtue of the situation, the conflict was conducted at long range, a book or a lecture being the weapon on either side, and the effect narrowed in proportion. Now it is a short-range assault: a tumultuous collision of ideas in magazines; in *conversazioni* in parlors, clubs, and at the breakfast-table; in newspapers, books, in the pulpit and on the platform; *every-where—and every body engaged in it.*

Nor are we to grapple altogether with old difficulties, obstinate because old; new aggrandizements of error, unknown to the magazine writers of fifty years ago, menace the peace of Zion and threaten an invasion of the temples of God. The area of thought is larger than it was in the days of Joshua Soule; theology is broader and richer than in the stormy period of Jonathan Edwards; the hour is one of far-seeing calculation and bold, almost omniscient, questioning. Ours is an age of facts, an age of blushless liberties, an age of prophetic interrogations; moss is at a tremendous discount. It is not enough to defend the Nicene Creed, or expound the formulas of English Wesleyanism, or rehearse the proceedings of the Christmas Conference of 1784. In the statement and refreshment of primary questions reference to historic certainties and conclusions is in order, but

some primary principles have been settled, the historic controversies are in part ended, and the next step must be futureward if the ultimatum of inquiry is to be proclaimed. Obstacles must be removed; the intellectual explorer must be shouted onward, and a path must be cut out that will lead to the house of the Lord in the tops of the mountains. Severing the umbilical cord that binds the modern mind to the so-called halcyon past, it is free to roam in the newer fields around and beyond it. This privilege is the guarantee of progress.

What our programme is cannot be fully traced here, as we prefer first to adjust ourselves to the situation and discharge our duty with each succeeding number rather than bugle it in advance. As to some purposes, however, having reached a conclusion, we frankly make them known, and ask the hearing of the Church.

1. The *Review* should report and expound current literary activities and developments, so far as they are related to the movements of the Church or impact upon the tendencies of religion. As the great aggressive force, religion is invading the realm of literature, impregnating it with its spirit, refining if not reforming its hostilities, and endowing the *littérateur* with a wider outlook, while on the other hand literary angels are knocking at the gates of our kingdom and would enter and share their sapphired gifts with our Lord. The relation of Religion and Literature excites agreeable friction and requires pleasant recognition. Heinrich Schliemann and M. D. Conway, R. Bosworth Smith and Tennyson; Cardinal Newman and Edmond de Pressensé, the *Andover Review* and Professor Drummond, the *London Spectator* and the *Nation*, the Duke of Argyll and Joseph Cook, not to mention others living and dead—not to record the standard magazines of the Old and New world—are in their way and within their sphere affecting the moral life and disciplining the moral taste of many peoples. To observe these, their equipments and objects, to study the teachings of posthumous writers and note their influence in our sphere of thought, is certainly a part of the duty that belongs to our position.

Truth instructively tends to literary expression. Its essence or spirit is without embodiment, but it kindly accepts embodiment when it is in harmony with itself, or its ultimate purpose may be actualized in reality. It sometimes partakes of physical form, as in the circle, or square, or rectangle, with its outgrowths, and is then of use to the natural philosopher, the chemist, and the average mind. It also evolves into literary beauty, as in poesy, music, psalmody, or prosaic rhetoric and logic, and is of use to the æsthetic, philosophic, and religious mind.

In the recognition of this relation to literature, the literary spirit of the Church, stimulated hitherto by our educational methods, will undergo an increased but gradual cultivation, elevating both ministry and laity toward the level that ideally we have always had in view, and from which a limited but helpful inspiration has descended into our ranks and societies.

2. Discerning the signs of the times, the *Review* must fraternize with those

sentiments of religion common to ecclesiastical bodies, and strive for the organic unity of the Christian Church, especially in our own country. The controversial age of Methodism, haloed with imperishable splendor, is now purely historic; the achievements of the fathers should satisfy us. Arminianism is primary religious truth, substantially accepted by all episcopal bodies, and is indirectly and fashionably incorporating itself with not a few presbyterial organizations. It is not really a competitor in the field of theology; it may assume too much, but it does assume the rights of a conqueror and to exercise the prerogatives of enthroned power. It is not eager for doctrinal strife, therefore, as it is unnecessary. Fraternity, not struggle; unity, not disintegration; solidification of all the provinces of inquiry into one empire of truth, not the eulogy of the segmental energy of a sect, should be the objective of all religious pursuit and domination. The irenic spirit is of the Gospel, and it should regulate the Churches. Ecumenical Conferences are opportune; Evangelical Alliances accomplish a mission; but a pan-Christian spirit, crystallized in organic absorptions and assimilations, would furnish an unanswerable argument for Christianity and an inspiration to moral revolutions. Justified in vigorously assailing the superstitions, traditions, and idolatries of Roman Catholicism, we should remember its common truths, its heritage of loyal service to humanity in the dark days of the world, its intense conviction that it embodies the divine idea vicegerency, and the possibility of its evangelization through magnetic methods of conciliation and Protestant inclination. She may be the Babylon, or the great whore, of the Apocalypse, but her destruction may be sooner wrought by her conversion under Protestant agency than by incessant warlike assaults upon her forms and faith. If the *Review* can contribute in any degree to the gospelizing and unifying of the great branches of Christendom, it will not have labored in vain.

3. Moved by a high regard for the Church of our choice, the *Review* will be justified in emphasizing the value of Methodist literature and encouraging Methodist authorship. The scholarship of Methodism is not excelled by that of any other denomination, the proof being found in nearly every department of inquiry, scientific, philosophic, literary, theological, poetical, pedagogical, and social, in which a Methodist writer usually appears as a quotable and usable authority, and deservedly so. German rationalists, English Protestants, foreign writers in general, home authors in other Churches, however learned or influential, deserve no more reverence, should exact no more critical study, suffer no sooner the speedy fate of condemnation, or be permitted to rejoice more in the eulogy of well-approved words than the Methodist mind whose product is under investigation and waiting for the final word. Guarding against the natural prepossessions in this sphere, we shall hold it to be proper to estimate our denominational authorship by the rules that apply to outside literature, and to stimulate Methodist research and aspiration.

4. We strongly insist that the *Review*, availing itself of every auxiliary, should contribute to the solution of those scientific and philosophic problems that are related to, and in a certain sense decisive of, the dogmatic

teachings of the Christian Church, and that such solutions can only be attained by an attempted harmonization of the alleged differences between the two great forms of thought. While Hebrew may aid in biblical exegesis, geology, archæology, and astronomy must be regarded as assistant interpreters of many incidents in the Old Testament. Sir Charles Lyell, Earl Rosse, Le Conte, Winchell, and Agassiz may therefore be as useful as Gesenius, Ewald, Buxtorf, or Ludovicus Cappellus. While Paul's Greek is valuable in deciphering Paul, Huxley and Lotze may throw some light upon the earthly side of heavenly things. Modern theorems may not be fully demonstrated by ancient instruments. Nature as well as the Bible is the arcanum of truth; let us reverence the one as we do the other. Let human life shine in the presence of the divine, receiving its color, luster, and strength from the all-illuminating Source above.

5. In a direct and occasionally practical form the *Review* should apply Christianity to those social and political conditions and potencies that underlie the activities of the American people and subserve the ends of constitutional or republican government. Christianity is, or should be, our national characteristic; a recognized influence in our national policies, a prevailing authority in our domesticities, and more than a nominal rule over the mass of our citizenship. Whether, as a national factor, it shall be obscure or transparent—loose, or tight with a giant's grip—positive in its approaches to national welfare, or negative in its grasp after far-reaching control—is a study of no mean magnitude. It is not the maximed forms of Epictetus, or the sagacious suggestions of Plato, but rather the ethical conceptions of Spencer, and the evolutionary system of morality of Bain and Häckel, as applied to modern life, and as they come in competition with Gospel codes and teachings, that must be searched, weighed, and judged as to their adequacy for social regeneration and efficacy in political reconstruction and progress. In this work of estimating rival systems of ethics and social jurisprudence the *Review* must have a share.

6. It goes without saying that the *Review* should reveal the spirit of the thinking world as materialized in current magazines, books, literatures, —as these to no inconsiderable degree are the outgrowth of the religious spirit in the world, and therefore within our purview. To listen to all the literary voices proclaiming theories, principles, or truths will require more than a single ear; to discern the literary purpose, methods, and achievements of all the thinkers in our realm will require more than a single eye; to fathom the depths of all intellectual inquiries, ceaselessly re-echoing their roar, will require a plumb-line longer than ours; but our position does not involve duties not in harmony with it. If we shall make good use of the facilities our observatory shall afford—and they probably will be sufficient—all reasonable anticipations will be answered. Addison said, in the *Spectator*, that his purpose was "to banish vice and ignorance out of the territories of Great Britain." Our Book Department may have in view the banishment of ignorance, but the chief aim shall be the communication or the revelation of such teachings, ideas, truths, as

the thinkers of our age conclude that they are ready to impart. It will be our province, we suppose, to express judgment as to the extent, accuracy, opportuneness, and perfection of their work, as submitted to us, pronouncing upon a magazine article according to our standard of truth, and weighing a book in the exact scales of justice, without bias and without hypocrisy. Whatever our conclusion, in any case, it must avoid the appearance of one-sidedness. While we shall not imitate the early Edinburgh reviewers, whose chief delight was in stabbing authors, and shall plunge the stiletto of the critic only under necessity, the author should not expect us to overlook essential deficiencies and compromising imperfections. As critic, reviewer, and commentator, we shall be free of thrall, being governed by rules such as apply to all cases and subjects.

7. To a limited extent the *Review* should survey Christian progress in all lands, observing both the argument that Christianity makes for itself in its assaults upon heathendom and its wrestlings with intellectual obstacles, and also the prospect of the final introduction of millennial order in this world. The missionary realm of the Church is the habitat of man; its work is the assimilation of religions and conversion of peoples. Mohammedanism, as a progressive or missionary religion, must be studied, curtailed, overcome; foreign civilizations, rooted in religious errors, must be better understood, and if possible religiously injected; paganism, with its death-stillness, must be assaulted and aroused to a different life. As to these conditions, we must be reporters and suggesters.

8. Embracing items omitted above, the *Review* should indicate the essential movements of Christian civilization, subsidizing every department of human thought, human activity, and human prophecy. While not radical, we espouse the progressive purpose; while not obviously conservative, we shall always remember fundamentals and consider them final until impeached; while constitutionally orthodox, we shall not tremble in the presence of the heterodox, or even attempt to hinder it, only as it shall violate the rights of truth; while venerating the old, so far as it is true, we shall welcome the new, so far as it establishes itself. Opposed to muzzling the thinker, we shall hold him to strict account when, leaving the camp of his friends, he kindles his own fires, lights his own torch, and ventures into a region no former soul has explored or even discovered.

If by this outline the function of the *Review* shall be clearly apprehended, it will be granted that it will not supersede any periodical in our Methodism, or rival any religious magazine of any other Church, or compete with any secular journal in this or any other country. Sharing in the designs of all, it has a sphere of its own, and will elbow nothing to make room for itself. Neither the *North American Review*, one of the oldest, nor the *Forum*, the latest born of secular magazines, nor any of the reprinted English periodicals circulated in this country, can completely or approximately answer the demands of Methodist culture, or perform our work, which if well done will entitle the *Review* to a larger audience than it has ever addressed. It proposes to speak, not to certain men, but to all

men who think, if it can reach them. We seize the opportunity to disclaim the idea that is alleged to have governed the conduct of the *Review* for at least a quadrennium, that it was issued chiefly, if not solely, in the interest of the ministry. Henceforth it shall be a magazine adapted to thoughtful men whether of the laity or ministry, and the one class as well as the other may appear in its pages under the restriction that both shall be governed by the same rules of admission and exclusion. Lawyers, physicians, journalists, professors, business men of leisure, stirred by the profound questions of philosophy and religion, and as competent to discuss them as the theologian in his retirement, will be welcome to such hospitality as we can extend or provide. On this basis, or promise of an open door, we may justly invite, and shall hope to receive, a large subscription list from the laymen of Methodism.

The Editor would not be unmindful of the expectations of the Church, or insensible of the routine tasks of his position, or unable to comprehend the magnitude of the programme he has prepared for himself and his readers during the quadrennium now opened. He recognizes the difficulties and embarrassments of his environments; he is not certain that he can accomplish the best phases of his plan or ideal. If others shall fancy that some other hand could more surely execute this outline he will agree with them; but as the task is his, and not another's, he must undertake it, and be responsible for success or failure.

In two ways assistance may be rendered us; we trust it will not be denied. Believing that divine aid is all-important, and that it is as much guaranteed by promise to one phase of the ministry as another, we submit that prayer to the God of our fathers that the wisdom that cometh from above may be given us will avail much. "Brethren, pray for us."

Criticism is not only anticipated but invited, as an instrument of discovery and correction, and the means of a better qualification for the place we occupy. By criticism we do not understand the epigrammatic sentiment of the cynic, or the inaccurate estimate of prejudice, or the distasteful opinion of the ignorant, but that intellectual judgment of the work we are essaying that will enable us quickly to detect the infirmities of our editorship and the necessities of the magazine committed to us.

Charles Lamb hoped for a writing-desk in heaven. Our hope reaches not so far; we shall be contented with one here. Accustomed to hard work with the pen, and having found it an antidote for many misgivings of human nature, and trusting in that Providence that ordereth the steps of man, we take up the labor imposed upon us, invoking that considerate charity, good-will, and support without which not even a rehabilitated and transfigured giant of other days could succeed, but with which one of the least of the chosen of Israel might hope to carry forward to some hitherto unreached point the banner of truth placed in his hands.

J. W. MENDENHALL.

SOME WORDS FROM THE RETIRING EDITOR.

The death of our beloved Dr. Curry and the request of the Book Committee placed the editorship of this *Review* temporarily in my hands. The election of the Rev. Dr. Mendenhall to its chair by the General Conference relieves me of a burden which I should never have consented to bear except for a brief period and at a time when the part of the year most favorable to literary labor was approaching. Concerning the merit and value of the work I have done in the *Review* it does not become me to speak. Its readers are my judges. I may say, however, that I gladly lay aside the editorial responsibilities which the General Conference has placed in the hands of a gentleman whose literary work in the past justifies expectation that the *Review* has a successful future before it. Dr. Mendenhall's *Echoes from Palestine* and his *Philosophy of Plato and Paul* have demonstrated him to be a man of thought, the possessor of much learning, and a strong, vigorous, and eloquent writer. Being thus highly qualified, his success on the editorial tripod may be reasonably accepted as a foregone conclusion.

In these last editorial words I may be permitted, without offense, to offer a few words suggested by my fifty years' acquaintanceship with the *Review* as one of its readers and as an observer of public opinion concerning it. That it has long had a larger circulation than any other denominational *Review* in the country is a fact creditable alike both to it and to the Church. Yet, when comparing its subscription list of 4,400 with the number of our ministers and educated laymen, some critics always have been and still are disposed to discredit it because it has no more subscribers. They assume that if it were in some way differently conducted it might easily double its list. But such critics fail to consider that it is not possible to make a *Review* as popular as a *Magazine* without destroying its character and defeating its proper ends.

Incontestable facts demonstrate that comparatively few ministers or laymen in any denomination care to habitually read much matter proper to a Church *Review*. And among that few there are such wide diversities of taste, culture, and felt intellectual needs, that no *Review* which can be produced by human skill and scholarship will fill the variant ideals of what such a publication should be. There will, therefore, be well-meaning critics in the future as in the past, who will be, if not dissatisfied, yet unsatisfied, however ably and suitably to the common needs of review readers this or any other *Review* may be edited. If, therefore, critics would look upon a *Review* as a publication that must cater, as best it may, not exclusively for any one class of thinkers, but for all classes of more or less cultivated minds, they would reach sounder and more charitable judgments than some of them express. They would not make their own tastes and mental requirements their exclusive standard of judgment, but would determine its merits and value by the inquiry, Does it, while satisfying in part the intellectual demands of men of high culture, and faithfully per-

forming the duty of a conservator of the truth, also keep abreast of modern theological, philosophical, and literary thought? And does it do this with sufficient vigor to make itself a real factor in the development of the intellectual and ethical life of the Church? The *Review* that meets these demands fulfills all its proper functions, although some of its readers fail to be *satisfied* with it. I believe that our *Review* has, if not fully, yet measurably, done this, and that it will continue to do it. Hence, in these last familiar words, I earnestly commend it to the good-will of the Church, trusting that under Dr. Mendenhall's management it will attain a still higher reputation, a much larger circulation, and still greater usefulness than it has hitherto achieved. DANIEL WISE.

CURRENT TOPICS.

RELIGIOUS WORK IN THE BRITISH METROPOLIS.

As philanthropy takes the precedence of letters and political questions, so soul-culture passes beyond mere material charity. When one surveys the purely religious work of the British metropolis the title of Christian Capital is found to be no misnomer. "In streets and lanes, in dismal alleys and princely mansions, in sunless slums and stately squares, in filthy courts and lordly avenues, the harvest is gathered and the good seed of the kingdom sown." Under this head may be classed first the literary. Amid the many London Bible Societies the "British and Foreign" stands pre-eminent. Its existence runs nearly parallel with the century, and it has translated the word of God into two hundred and sixty-one languages and dialects, with a last year's circulation of three millions of copies and an income of $1,000,000. There is hardly a country in the world which has not felt the influence of this society. Its lines have literally gone out to the ends of the earth. Syrians and Persians, Indians and Chinese, Abyssinians and Kaffirs, the islanders of Madagascar, New Zealand, and the South Seas, Mexicans and Esquimaux, and many others have heard through this instrumentality, in their own tongues, the wonderful works of God. Schools and hospitals, prisons and reformatories, railway stations and hotels, the army and navy, have experienced its benefits. Throughout the vast world-empire this organization follows in the wake of the Conqueror, and extends its beneficence far beyond British borders. It employs printing-presses, not only in London, Oxford, and Cambridge, but also in Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, Berlin, Cologne, Vienna, Rome, Madrid, Lisbon, Copenhagen, Stockholm, St. Petersburg, Constantinople, Beyrout, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Shanghai, Capetown, Sydney, and other centers of activity. Handsomely housed, this beneficent fountain, whose streams are for the healing of so many nations, constitutes the pride and glory of the Christian metropolis.

Religious book and tract organizations are fourteen in number, dating

back to the seventeenth century, pouring forth a flood of healthful literature. In extent of operation the "Religious Tract Society" takes the lead. It was founded at the close of the last century, and proclaims the Gospel of the grace of God in one hundred and seventy-four languages. Its issues the last year were about eighty-six millions, and during its existence of eighty-six years nearly two billions and a half. It is supported by and aids all evangelical denominations, and the varied missionary societies at home and abroad. Well-nigh every emigrant leaving the ports of the United Kingdom receives its benefactions.

The department of home missions numbers fifty-seven distinct societies, strictly Christian, of varied character and operation. Chief among these is the London City Mission, founded in 1835, with the simple object of taking the Gospel to every house, garret, and cellar, particularly to those unreached by church or chapel. It is undenominational in character, unsectarian in its aims, and only seeks to make bad men good. It was never more prosperous than to-day. It has the hearty confidence of all the Churches, and their fraternal co-operation. It thus, as well, promotes brotherly love. Nearly five hundred missionaries are employed, each of whom visits on the average five hundred families, or two thousand persons, monthly. Evangelistic services are regularly held, the sick are visited, the dead buried, and multitudes are awakened to spiritual life. The different nationalities are reached, the various callings, not excepting the very numerous class of publicans. Systematic and persistent effort is made in the majority of the seventy-three miles of beer-houses and gin palaces, and strenuous endeavor seeks to compass the remainder. The annual income is upward of $250,000, and it possesses a commodious and centrally located mission-house. It is estimated that a million of the population is reached by this organization alone, and it is constantly enlarging its operations. It goes far to insure public order and the stability of established institutions. It is a benefactor to the State as truly as to the individual, and the patriot as well as the Christian rejoices in its success. In the year 1857 a sister and supplemental society was founded by the late Mrs. Ramsford, of holy memory, entitled "The Bible and Domestic Female Mission." Its mission was primarily to women: to the "sunken sixth" who were never found in the church of God; to drunken and dissolute mothers; to save souls and build up Christian homes. The good work has prospered from the beginning, and is now energetically pushed forward by a niece, a kindred spirit of the founder, and by efficient coworkers. Nearly five hundred Bible-women, nurses, and superintendents are employed. There are house-to-house visitation, mothers' meetings, industrial schools, care for the sick and needy, and a monthly magazine to chronicle the report, fitly called the *Missing Link*. It is the parent of the "Bible Women's Society" of New York, and of many similar organizations in various parts of the world. The writer, in conveying the greetings of the Bible women of New York to the Bible women of London, had an opportunity to look into their earnest and determined faces. The sight was an inspiration. One would gladly sit at their feet and listen

to the story of their labors, their trials, and successes, in the courts and alleys, the garrets and cellars of this wonderful London world. They have been dug out of the pit themselves; they would stretch forth a hand to lift their sisters up.

"How to reach the London masses" is sought to be in part answered by a distinct organization for "special religious services for the people in theaters, halls, and mission rooms." It has an existence of twenty-five years, and its field has been an unreached million of immortal beings. It has the patronage of the eminent both in Church and State, their personal sympathy and practical aid. It has been found in London that halls, not churches, are the best centers for evangelistic work among the masses. They require at first not only a different place but a different form of worship. The effort is crowned with marked success. The attendance is uniformly large. Great numbers have been hopefully converted, and have united with church or chapel. The historic Billingsgate, a locality of unenviable notoriety, witnesses to a gratifying moral uplifting. The writer can testify from personal observation to the interest and the results. Fifty separate localities have been utilized by this organization. In addition there are countless services in tents and in the open air. Prominent ministers and laymen vie with each other in this labor of love. It does not seem to be exaggeration to say, that there is no large city in the world, according to population, where so much religious work is done as in the British metropolis. As there is no class of suffering ones for whom no benevolent agency is found, so there is not a quarter of the city left to Satan. Active and practical Christianity is omnipresent, and from all sides effort is made to leaven the whole lump of society. Aside from these agencies, there are numerous separate and independent missions, fountains of light, aiding to dispel the accumulated darkness of earth's greatest center. Many laymen are raised up for this high and holy purpose. The metropolis is honeycombed with evangelism. It is the saving salt that preserves society and government from utter destruction. Other societies find place whose character partakes both of home and foreign mission, in the interest of sailors and soldiers, Jews and diversified nationalities. In the provision for spiritual welfare there is to be superadded foreign missions. Although the subjects of this Christly endeavor may be at the antipodes, London is the heart-center of a vast network that well-nigh covers the entire globe. The limits of this paper and a general knowledge of these colossal associations forbid a detailed account. But a Baptist Missionary Society with an annual income of $300,000, a Wesleyan with that of $750,000, a single London society that reaches $500,000, and a Church Missionary Society which rises to $1,160,000, beside the many in addition, is no insignificant showing for a single feature of Christian effort.

The unparalleled dimensions of the benevolent and Christian work of the British capital challenges public attention. Volumes would be necessary to mete out to it adequate justice. None can feel more deeply than the writer the unsatisfactory showing of this momentous theme in a single

paper. But enough has been written to evidence the spirit and power of our holy Christianity, and to stimulate emulation on the part of those whose hearts have been warmed by its refulgent fires. Patriot, statesman, Christian, equally rejoice in that which is alike the salvation of the individual and of the State; a conserving and restraining force that is an absolute necessity to every great center of population. The London *Times* has recently written, "There is a supplementary agency, too little noticed, that exerts a powerful moral influence over the closely massed population of London. What is this restraining influence? It is the presence among the people, earnestly laboring for their welfare, of a little army of men and women unrecognized by the authorities, each one of whom, however, is worth ten policemen or ten soldiers in the restraining influence they exert. Such are the four hundred and sixty city missionaries, the two hundred and fifty Bible-women, the one hundred colporteurs, the one hundred Mildmay Park deaconesses; such are the thousands of volunteer district visitors and the ten thousand Sunday-school teachers; such are the many notable friends of the poor in East and South London, who have made the poor of London to feel that they are thought about, cared for; that there is a reality in the religion of Christ, that the precepts of God's word are not a dead letter, and that some, at least, of the rich and educated have not forgotten their less highly favored brethren and sisters. There would be worldly prudence as well as Christian charity in a more liberal support of such associations and workers." London charities are a splendid memorial of a city's wealth and liberality; it emphasizes the fact that Christianity is the actuating principle of social usefulness no less than of individual virtue. The constraining influence of the love of Christ is, and ever must be, the grand motive that prompts to administer help in destitution and relief in suffering. G. D.

THE NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

This society was organized in 1880, and is the third in succession in the Methodist Episcopal Church in New England. The first was formed in 1859, Rev. Samuel W. Coggshall, D.D., so noted in the department of historical inquiry, Franklin Rand, Esq., for about thirty years agent of *Zion's Herald*, Hon. Jacob Sleeper, and other prominent ministers and laymen participating in its affairs. During the exciting and engrossing scenes of the civil war it declined and died.

In 1873 the second society was instituted in Boston, under the name of the Historical Society of the New England Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Annual meetings were held during the Conference week, and occasionally other meetings, all with much interest. At the session of the Conference in 1880 this society was discontinued, to make room for a broader organization, comprising the Methodists of the

New England States. In the meantime two committees were appointed, one by the Boston Methodist Preachers' Meeting, and the other by the Boston Methodist Social Union, to act jointly in organizing a more comprehensive society. By appointment of the joint committee, Willard S. Allen, Esq., with great care, drafted a Constitution which was approved by them, and indorsed by the Preachers' Meeting and the Social Union. At the session of the New England Conference in April, 1880, the Historical Society was disbanded, and a meeting was called to be held May 3, 1880, to effect the new organization.

At this meeting Rev. Daniel Dorchester, D.D., delivered an address in the vestry of the Bromfield Street Methodist Church, upon the nature and importance of the proposed organization, presenting the following points:

I. To collect materials for history, such as
1. Printed documents.
(1). Volumes of general ecclesiastical history.
(2). Volumes of Methodist Church history.
(3). Local church histories.
(4). Files of newspapers—Methodist and those of other denominations. Any files of secular papers.
(5). Published sermons, volumes and pamphlets of miscellaneous matter.
2. The manuscript histories of local churches.
3. Miscellaneous documents, records, quarterly conference records, journals and diaries of old preachers. Old class books or papers, fragmentary sketches of brief periods, autograph letters.
4. Relics, saddle-bags, portraits, etc.

II. To promote the writing of Methodist history in New England; to encourage ministers and laymen to undertake it. To impress upon our people greater care in preserving all such material.

III. We also hope in due time to be prepared to publish successive collections of papers on New England Methodism.

IV. We desire to make a collection of documents, relics, etc., which shall make our rooms a most desirable place to visit—A METHODIST MUSEUM.

The address was followed by the organization of the New England Methodist Historical Society in due form, with Constitution, By-laws, and a full corps of officers, twenty ministers and laymen constituting the nucleus.

President: Hon. William Claflin, LL.D.

Vice-Presidents: Rev. Lorenzo R. Thayer, D.D., and five others.

Corresponding Secretary: Rev. Ralph W. Allen, D.D.

Recording Secretary: Rev. George Whitaker, A.M.

Treasurer: Alonzo S. Weed, Esq.

Historiographer: Rev. Daniel Dorchester, D.D.

Librarian: Willard S. Allen, A.M.

At the close of the first year this society numbered one life member, 127 resident members, 29 corresponding members, and one honorary member, of whom 114 were ministers and 44 laymen.

At the present time there are 15 life members, 335 resident members, 81 corresponding members, and two honorary members.

The monthly meetings held in their room (No. 21 at 36 Bromfield Street, Boston) are occasions of great interest. Valuable papers are read, quaint

and curious Methodist relics, records, old and rare books and documents are presented. The annual meetings never fail to attract good audiences and awaken inspiration.

Among the annual addresses are the following:

In 1883, by Rev. Elijah Horr, D.D., upon the "Duty of Methodists amid the Present Drift of Theological Ideas."

In 1884, by Rev. Daniel Dorchester, D.D., upon "Methodism in New England—The Struggle of its Introduction and Growth."

In 1885, by Rev. William R. Clark, D.D., upon "Three Reasons why we Should Recount the History of Methodism."

In 1886, by Rev. Stephen L. Baldwin, D.D., upon "Lessons from a Century of Methodist History."

In 1887, by Rev. Professor Marcus D. Buell, S.T.B., upon "Pastoral Leadership."

In 1888, by Rev. George S. Chadbourne, D.D., upon "The Office and Importance of History."

These addresses have all been published in the annual reports of the "proceedings" of the society.

The accumulations of pamphlets, books, documents, and relics have been steadily increasing year by year. The library now includes 3,069 bound volumes, and 12,820 pamphlets—15,889 in all. The expenses last year were $1,239 65. It has permanent funds amounting to $8,200, which it hopes to increase until it shall be able to possess a suitable fire-proof building for its valuable treasures. The venerable Hon. Jacob Sleeper, its president, has contributed largely to this fund, and taken a deep interest in its doings, as have also Rev. Lorenzo R. Thayer, D.D., Rev. Ralph W. Allen, D.D., Willard S. Allen, Esq., who have devoted a great amount of time and labor to its upbuilding.

Thus has been fairly begun a most important work for our denomination and for our common Christianity. A great stimulus has been given to the writing of Methodist history in all the New England States, and numerous historical sketches of the origin and progress of Methodism in many localities have been written, and many more are in course of writing.

THEORY OF REAL ESTATE.

By the theory of real estate is here meant the opinion which underlies existing law on the subject in all countries of Anglo-Saxon speech and custom. Blackstone is its great exponent. The right of property, he says, is "that sole and despotic dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe."* But "there is no foundation in nature or in natural law why a set of words upon parchment should convey the dominion of land." "The earth, therefore, and all

* *Principles of Political Economy*, book ii, c. i, § 2.

things therein, are the general property of all mankind, exclusive of other beings, from the immediate gift of the Creator."

The original right of exclusive possession to any portion of it was strictly usufructuary. "By the law of nature, he who first began to use it acquired a kind of transient property that lasted so long as he was using it, and no longer; or, to speak with still greater precision, the right of possession continued for the same time only that the act of possession lasted." This usage was and is in harmony with the most forceful instincts and convictions of humanity. Cicero compared the world to a great theater, which is common to the public, and yet the place which any man has taken is for the time his own.

Multiplication of the human species made it necessary "to appropriate to individuals not the immediate *use* only, but the very *substance* of the thing to be used." Even the wild beasts claim the holes, dens, and caverns which shelter them as their own. Individual property began with tamable animals, such as flocks and herds, which in the East were *watered* from wells, "the exclusive property of which appears to have been established in the first digger or occupant, even in such places where the ground and herbage remained yet in common." "Because I have digged this well" (Gen. xxi, 30), said Abraham to Abimelech at Beersheba, in justification of his asserted right of property in it—a right admitted by the Philistines. Isaac also urged his right of property on the same ground. Value had been imparted to the locality by his labors. As in his father's case the covetous Philistines recognized the justice of his claims. Gen. xxvi, 15–23. Abraham's proposition to Lot (Gen. xiii, 9) "implies an acknowledged right in either to occupy whatever ground he pleased that was not preoccupied by other tribes."

That bold, independent, and fearless thinker, John Stuart Mill, traces the origin of private property in land to similar causes. He states that

> private property, as an institution, did not owe its origin to any of those considerations of utility which plead for the maintenance of it when established. Enough is known of rude ages, both from history and from analogous states of society in our own time, to show that tribunals (which always precede laws) were originally established, not to determine rights, but to repress violence and terminate quarrels. With this object chiefly in view they naturally enough gave legal effect to first occupancy, by treating as the aggressor the person who first commenced violence by turning, or attempting to turn, another out of possession. The preservation of the peace, which was the original object of civil government, was thus attained; while by confirming, to those who already possessed it, even what was not the fruit of personal exertion, a guarantee was incidentally given to them and others that they would be protected in what was so. *

Primary rights of the usufructuary pass into those of the proprietary, under legal conditions, in all new countries settled by Anglo-Saxon immigrants. Necessity has always impelled to agriculture, and agriculture has led to permanent occupancy of the soil cultivated. "Occupancy gave also the original right to the permanent property in the *substance* of the earth itself, which excludes every one else but the owner from the use of it." †

* *Principles of Political Economy*, book ii, c. i, § 2.

† Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*.

Anglo-Saxon theory and law of real estate—the United States of America being pre-eminently Anglo-Saxon as touching them—are rooted not so much in biblical teaching, perhaps, as in the immemorial customs of the Aryan race. "The most primitive self-governing body of which we have any knowledge is the village community of the ancient Teutons. In its Teutonic form the primitive village community (or rather the spot inhabited by it) is known as the mark—that is, a place defined by a boundary line." All its members, in theory, were of common descent from one ancestor. "Its social center was the homestead, where ætheling or ceorl still handed down the blood and traditions of his fathers. Around this homestead or æthel, each in its little croft, stood the lowlier dwellings of freelings or ceorls—men sprung, it may be, from descendants of the earliest settler, who had in various ways forfeited their claim to a share in the original homestead, or more probably from incomers into the village who had settled around it, and been admitted to a share in the land and freedom of the community."* All freemen were equals, and constituted the base of the village society. "Harling abode by Harling, and Billing by Billing. . . . Land with the German race seems at a very early time to have become every-where the accompaniment of full freedom. The freeman was strictly the freeholder, and the exercise of his full rights as a free member of the community to which he belonged became inseparable from the possession of his 'holding' in it. But property had not as yet reached that stage of absolutely personal possession which the social philosophy of a later time falsely regarded as its earliest state."† "Territorially the old Teutonic mark consisted of three divisions. There was the *village mark*, there was the *arable mark*, divided into as many lots as there were householders, and there was the *common mark*, or border strip of untilled land, wherein all the inhabitants of the village had common rights of pasturage and of cutting firewood. All the land originally was the property not of any one family or individual, but of the community. It was in the village mark, or assemblage of homesteads, that private property in real estate naturally began."‡ In the modern villages of Russia the homesteads are held as private property, the cultivated land being owned in common.

"It was this sharing in the common land which marked off the freeman or ceorl from the unfree man or læt—the tiller of land which another owned."§ The latter was free except as regarded land and lord. He might be summoned to the *folk-mote*, which resembled in all essential respects the town-meeting of New England, and allowed equal rights at law, but the owner to whom he paid rent in labor or in kind was his "land-lord." Slaves were only chattels. In the *moot*, or common meeting of the villagers for justice and government, a slave had no place or voice, while the læt was originally represented by the lord whose land he tilled. In these moots sovereignty resided, provision was made for

* Green's *History of the English People.* † *Ibid.*

‡ John Fiske's *American Political Ideas.*

§ Green's *History of the English People*, c. i.

justice, and legislation was formulated. Tribal ties linked the moots together, and united the whole in autonomic nationality.

Celtic laws and customs were of similar Aryan characteristics. They, however, admitted of departure from the ancestral system, at an earlier date and on a larger scale than did those of the Teutons. 'In Ireland society was based on the tribal system. The tribe, clan, or sept, owning descent from common ancestry, had each its separate territory, "part of which was enjoyed in common, as common tillage, meadow, wood, or pasture land; part was occupied by the dwellings of the members of the tribe, with their curtilages; part was devoted to the use of the chiefs for the time being, and part was occupied by separate families of the noble class who had contrived to appropriate a portion of the public lands."*

All writers on international law concur with Puffendorf, Vattel, and Grotius on the doctrine that actual occupancy is essential to perfect the title to land newly discovered and vacant. To prevent dissensions and quarrels among settlers the civil law of every nation vests the property in it in the sovereign of the State. In the United States of America the sovereign is the *people*, who grant the land by patent to purchasers or beneficiaries. Such conveyance is of all rights except those of taxation and eminent domain, and gives to the conveyee a good right against the conveyor, "and possession, or occupancy, conforms that right against all the world beside."† Abandonment of the grant, or its equivalent—the non-payment of taxes—is a voluntary surrender of the right of ownership, and justifies the resumption of it by the State.

The permanent right of property, according to Blackstone, is not a natural, but merely a civil right. Christian maintains the contrary, and somewhat inconsequently cites Gen. xv, 4: "This shall not be thine heir, but he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir," in support of his opinion. Rights of inheritance are subjects of statute law in all civilized countries. Blackstone denies that the son has a natural right to succeed to his father's lands, and also denies that the owner has the natural right to direct the succession to his property after his decease: "Whereas the law of nature suggests that on the death of the possessor the estate should again become common, and be open to the next occupant unless otherwise ordered for the sake of civil peace by the positive law of society."‡

Notwithstanding any thing that may appear in the law, organic or statutory, of New York or any other State, there is no private title "*allodial*—that is, wholly independent, and held of no superior at all"—in the entire republic. "This allodial property no subject in England has; it being a received and now undeniable principle in the law that all the lands in England are holden mediately or immediately of the king. . . . A subject, therefore, hath only the usufruct, and not the absolute property of the soil."§ This paragraph, with the words, *citizen*, *United*

* Walpole's *History of the Kingdom of Ireland*, chap. i.

† Blackstone, book ii, c. i, § 10. ‡ *Ibid.*, ii, c. i, § 13. § *Ibid.*, ii, c. i, § 105.

States, and *people*, substituted for *subject*, *England*, and *king*, expresses the theory and law of real estate in this country.

The settled and fundamental doctrine in the United States is, that valid individual title to land is derived from the grant of civil government; either of the State or the United States, or of the English crown, or of chartered governments established here prior to the Revolution. The European governments that discovered America assumed the ultimate dominion of the continent to be in themselves. The natives were recognized as rightful occupants of the land, with the right of possession and use, but not of disposal at will, except to the government claiming the right of pre-emption. The United States government holds the same doctrine, claiming the right of pre-emption with respect to the Indians, and the sovereignty with respect to all other nations. Absolute title is denied to the *autocthones*. They have no "higher title to the soil than that founded on simple occupancy." * This dogma is the dictate of necessity. American civilization and nationality have compelled its adoption. It is the supreme law of the land. Decisions of the United States Supreme Court regard the Indians as wards, with an unquestionable right to the lands they occupy. It is a lasting and ineradicable disgrace to Georgia, that, notwithstanding these decisions, and although the lands of the Cherokees in that State had been guaranteed to them as a nation under the protection of the United States—pledged to them in their national capacity by solemn treaties—the government of the Commonwealth deprived them both of lands and gold mines. They were, however, declared to be protected in the possession of their *improvements, until the Legislature should enact the contrary*, or the Indians should voluntarily abandon them." † Other States have subjected the aboriginal occupants of the soil to similar treatment. It redounds to the credit of the United States Supreme Court that it declared the acts of Georgia to be null and void. But they were none the less effective. Claim substantiated by occupancy, and with power of alienation only to the protecting government, is the basis of all Indian titles.

The colonists of the several States cheerfully acknowledged the right of the Indians to as much of the soil as they occupied, but held it to be preposterous that thirty thousand, more or less, of roving hunters should exclude immigration from sections each as large as New England. God's grant of the earth to the human race is, that they may *subdue the earth and till the ground whence they were taken*. Gen. i, 28; iii, 23. If, in the estimation of the new-comers, and we may add of all just thinkers, the Indians do not fulfill the divine commission, they have no right to keep the earth a wilderness for the sake of hunting, this being inconsistent with the civilization and moral improvement of mankind. The principle of this philosophy is far reaching, and applies to proprietors of the Scotch moors and Irish glens, and to speculative owners of large tracts of Western lands, as well as to the original occupants of this continent. Vattel taught the right of land-workers to claim and retain a part of the boundless regions

* Kent's *Commentary upon American Laws*, vol. iii, p. 381. † *Ibid.*, p. 383.

through which the savages wandered, on the ground that the latter merely usurped the territory they could not subdue and cultivate :

> The original English emigrants came to this country with no slight confidence in the solidity of such doctrines, and in their right to possess, subdue, and cultivate the American wilderness, as being by the law of nature and the gift of Providence open and common to the first occupants in the character of cultivators of the earth.*

Prior to their leaving England for Massachusetts Bay the Puritans circulated a paper entitled *General Considerations for the Planting of New England*, in which it was declared that "the whole earth was the Lord's garden, and he had given it to the sons of Adam to be tilled and improved by them. Why, then, should any stand starving for places of habitation, and in the meantime suffer wholé countries, as profitable for the use of man, to lie waste without any improvement?" In reply to the objection that they had no warrant for taking land long possessed by other sons of Adam they insisted that "what was common to all was proper to none. This savage people ruleth over many lands without title or property, for they inclose no ground, neither have they cattle to maintain it. There was more than enough left for them and us. By a miraculous plague a great part of the country was left void of inhabitants. Finally, they would come in with the good-will of the natives." †

The Rev. Mr. Bulkley, of Colchester, Conn., in 1724, in an able paper entitled *An Inquiry into the Right of the Aboriginal Natives to the Land in America, and to the Titles derived from Them*, "confines Indian titles which have any solidity or value to those particular parcels of land which they had subdued and improved," and insists that the residue is open to the rightful occupation of *bona fide* cultivators. The only title to property, he contended, was the labor by which the same was appropriated and cultivated. Roger Williams argued that an English patent royal could not invalidate the rights of the natives; nor did the colonists think it expedient to settle in the country "without the consent of the aborigines, procured by fair purchase." Lands in New England, except as acquired by what was held to be just war, were obtained by negotiation and exchange of values. The same remark is true of Dutch acquisitions in the colony of Nieuw Amsterdam. In Pennsylvania lands were acquired by purchase; in Virginia and other colonies as in New England. The Cherokees, removed to the Indian Territory in 1838, were provided with lands and annuities; but who, as De Tocqueville asked, can assure them that they will be permitted to repose in peace in their new asylum?

The Anglo-Saxon theory and law of real estate is, that it is acquired in the first instance by the usufructuary occupation of vacant and unimproved land, and that the title thereto is subsequently confirmed to the occupant by statute of the civil government, which still retains the right of taxation and eminent domain; that conveyance, devise, and bequest are rights acquired under the operation of civil government; and that the owner cannot be deprived thereof without due compensation. R. W.

* Kent's *Commentaries upon American Law*, vol. iii, pp. 388–9. † *Ibid.*, p. 389.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

How an emperor dies, is, of course, a matter of great interest to the world at large, and much has been written of the dying scenes at the couch of the great German Emperor William. We give below the *literatim* account of one who was permitted to hear and see all up to the last, as we believe it will interest all Christian readers.

On Thursday, the 8th of March, at five o'clock in the evening, the court chaplain, Dr. Kögel, approached the bed of the emperor, and, after a few words of greeting, in which he spoke of the praying sympathy of an entire nation, repeated to the exalted patient the fourth verse of the Twenty-third Psalm: "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death," etc.; then Isaiah liv, 10: "For the mountains shall depart and the hills be removed, but my kindness shall not depart from thee;" "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee," etc. To each of these the emperor said: "That is beautiful!" And when the man of God continued, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," "Christ is the resurrection and the life," with a strong voice the dying emperor said: "That is so!" In the course of the evening hours choice passages were repeated to him: "My peace I leave with you;" "I give not as the world gives;" "We are now justified by faith;" "Behold I am with you alway, until the end of the world;" "The blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, makes us pure from all sin." Between these consoling passages there were sometimes long pauses, when the dying man seemed wrapped in thought.

From the hymns of the Church the emperor's favorite verses were repeated: "If I am to depart, depart thou not from me;" "Command thou my ways;" "Bid all our pain to cease, O Lord!" At the passage, "Now let thy servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen the glory of the Lord," the Grand Duchess of Baden, daughter of the emperor, asked her father whether he had understood all of it. "Yes," said he, with trembling lips, "my eyes have seen thy glory!" Shortly afterward he said to himself: "He has helped me with his name." Another time he spoke as if dreaming: "Let us have a season of devotion," and then, awaking, he said: "I have had a dream; it was the last service in the cathedral." In spirit he seemed to have been at his own requiem. Late in the night Dr. Kögel prayed: "Come thou to me as my shield and consolation in death," and the empress followed him audibly with the Lord's Prayer. When the chaplain read the first verse of the Twenty-seventh Psalm, "The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear?" the daughter addressed the father: "Papa, did you understand?" and he replied: "Yes; it was beautiful." "Do you know that mamma is sitting at your bed, holding your hand?" He then turned his eyes toward the empress, gazed at her, and closed them, not to open them again. His last worldly glance disappeared in her eye.

In the evident article of death the pastor blessed the departing one with the words: "The Lord guard thy ways from now into eternity.

Depart in peace!" And then, when the latest breath had disappeared, the royal family all knelt and the chaplain uttered a fervent prayer, in which he thanked the triune God that he had so kindly borne the monarch in his arms through life, and had hallowed his ways so that his departure from earth was a journey to his home, as his life had been a blessing for Prussia and the German Empire. He then commended the empress and the children and the children's children to the mercy of God in these words: "Have mercy on our royal house, our people, and our fatherland, and fulfill thy word in the death of the emperor: 'I will bless thee, and thou shalt be a blessing.' Amen."

GERMAN THEOLOGIANS are complaining bitterly at the demoralizing character of the journals of the day, and especially their unchristianizing tendency. If they have any respect, or rather fear, for any portion of the religious world it is to the Catholic, and not to the Protestant, Church that they will bend the knee. And they do this only in the greed of gain, for the purse seems to be all that they aim at or care for, and they are careful to say nothing that will not fatten this. There is also a criminal carelessness in the insertion of literary productions whose tendency is bad beyond measure. This indifference is so great that one does not see the serpent that lurks among the flowers until it has had time to spring and stab and poison.

The eagerness for new literary ventures has also become almost a disease. A new journal is scarcely established to cultivate a certain line of literature before it has a dozen rivals if it has become a success. Then begins the rivalry for patronage and support, which engenders a readiness to say and do almost any thing that will make one journal more racy, spicy, or audacious than another. In this wild race to gain the purse as a prize new sheets spring up in the night like weeds, and poison all the atmosphere around with their attractions for the senses and venom for the heart.

The religious journals, of which there are many excellent and loyal ones, are now calling the attention of their readers to the fact that nearly all these soulless enterprises are in the hands of the Jews. And it is not only Jewish publishers that gain their daily bread by decrying Christianity, but Christian men will allow their columns to be filled by Jewish pens. The main literary organ in Berlin, the *German Review*, has been in the hands of the Jews since its commencement; and its literary critics are nearly all Jews, although they may be of various nationalities. They frequently modify the forms of their names, so that their origin may not be so patent; but one sees the Moses and the Levi, the Abraham and the David nevertheless, and regrets that these noble names are used to such base purposes. *The North and South* is another influential sheet in the hands of Paul Lindau, a Jew, who is ever willing, of course, to receive whatever may come from the hands of his co-religionists. Now, this antipathy is not to the Jews as such, as long as they play an honorable and useful role in society, but it is disgusting that they are so ready to play on any chord that will attract subscribers at the expense of Christian

purity and morals. In view of these sad facts some of the religious journals of the country are joining hands to encourage a spirit among conscientious religious people to give their names and support to journals that will adorn and purify their homes.

In Russia an excellent work is being done in the line of the circulation of Protestant Bibles by the German society established for this purpose. This effort is of far-reaching good for the future of the great realm of the East, though it is done so quietly that Protestant Germany is scarcely aware of the fact.

If this work is not interfered with, it is hoped that it will profit the Russian State Church as well as the Protestant Churches, for they are all in need of some power to instill into them new life. This society will celebrate next year its twenty-fifth year of activity. It must not be confused with the Protestant Bible Society in Russia, established in 1831, mainly for the Protestants of the realm. This enterprise that we now allude to has to do exclusively with the circulation of the Scriptures in the Slavonic tongue, so that the word of God may come freely to all Christian congregations that desire the light of the word of God in their own idiom. A society for this same purpose was established many years ago, but it was coldly received and finally disbanded. The old society, which was a true copy of the British Bible Society in its operations, was quite different from this in one respect—namely, that it had only the appearance of a free institution, when it was in reality called into life by the will of the monarch, protected by his strong arm, and advanced by his favor. That was the principal cause of its early decline. The governors and the bishops in the entire realm knew that they could in no better way find grace with the government than to favor the formation of branch societies among their people, and the latter were zealous to advance the wishes of their superiors. Thus there came elements into the society which worked badly, because they worked with a bad motive—to find the favor of man rather than that of God.

But this present society began in a very different manner. In perfect quiet the germ of the new plant was sunk into the soil of Russia. No ray of human favor shone upon it. The love of Christ alone is the vivifying power that gives strength to the plant. But the air in which it is to be developed has become fresher and stronger in the last few years. The Emperor Alexander the Second spoke the mighty word that was to free millions from the yoke of serfdom. And then it seemed imperatively demanded to show these liberated ones the path to real freedom and make it accessible to them. Seven plain men—an orthodox Russian, a Moravian, two Lutherans, and three of the Reformed faith—moved by this thought came together in 1863 to study how to give to all the people the word of God. For six years they worked quietly under a rich blessing from above. Then the greater extension of the work seemed to demand publicity and a legal basis. This was granted in 1869. But the voluntary element remained in the society. Alexander the Second

annually received a report of the "good cause," and then gave to it each year about a thousand roubles and his gracious sanction. The members of the society give and solicit means for its support, but the principal labor falls on the shoulders of the brave and tireless colporteurs of both sexes, who labor faithfully as "book-carriers," as they are called in Russia. These carriers sell "pious books" alone, and they distributed the half of the nearly one hundred thousand that were sold in the last year. They have now an immense field to cultivate, and they will reap a great harvest if their activity does not engender opposition.

THE STUDENTS IN RUSSIA are making more than usual commotion of late. Their demands have not been granted, and in some cases they have been brutally treated by the military. The result has been the closing of several universities for a season, and a general demoralization of all the teaching force. The people are with the students in these troubles more than usual, and the professors are quite largely in their favor. The cause of the trouble is the infringement on the independence of the universities, and their subjection to inspectors and police control, which is to exercise a sort of spy system over professors and students. The dismissal of such a mass of students has naturally swelled the number of the malcontents, and the country is overrun with them now, many of whom act as emissaries, preaching dissatisfaction, unrest, and revolution. Thus a generation of agitators is fast being raised up for the future.

THE CATACOMBS are being drawn into discussion at present in support of the claims of the Catholic Church in a very singular way. Indeed, this is a period of polemics of the Holy Church against Protestantism. In literature that is, or at least would be, scientific there is great activity in this line. And there is evidently a system in this. The external power that the Catholic Church seems to have acquired in this latter period has been a temptation too great to be neglected in the effort to annihilate the hated Protestant Church.

Döllinger was the first in this modern period to appear in the Catholic world as a man of princely rank in the European republic of letters, and he has since been the source from whom Roman Catholic polemics has of late drawn its weapons. And also from this source come the modern attacks on Protestantism largely of an historical nature. But the historical proof for Catholicism against Protestantism does not confine itself to this—it comes down to the present as it reaches far back into the past. The Middle Ages are glorified after a fixed plan—that is, a whole series of *historical falsehoods* is presented, the papal history is claimed to be entirely different from that presented by Ranke and Gregorovius; and, in addition to this, even the *catacombs* are now given as positive and historical testimony for the truth of the Catholic Church.

But the effort to bring the exploration of the catacombs into the service of Roman Catholic polemics is not entirely new. The Romish archæologist, Ariughi, in his *Roma Subterranea Novissima*, published in 1657, took

this same position, and others followed him in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But in our time these imperfect efforts have been more largely developed and have acquired considerable importance. It is now taken as accepted that the testimony of these monuments sustains the Romish Church, and to maintain the contrary is assumption. When, two years ago, the chaplain of the German embassy in Rome, in a small work entitled *Rome's Christian Catacombs*, interpreted the language of these monuments in favor of the Protestant Church, it called forth great denunciation, as a violation of confessional peace. Under these circumstances it is of interest to know who are the defenders of these opinions; and they turn out to be no archæologists at all, but rather *dilletante* writers of a second rank. Rossi, the master of modern catacomb exploration, and Kraus, the most eminent of the teachers of this art in Germany, observe a marked silence in this respect. And, therefore, it appears the more strange that the defenders of the Romish assumptions refer to them continually in the interest of the Romish dogma. The claim of these Romish advocates seems, therefore, to have but a slender basis.

From Bavaria there come fairly gratifying reports regarding the Protestant Church in that ultra-Catholic country. There is quiet within its ranks; but it is no idle repose, for the Church is collecting its powers for new efforts, and whatever agitates the Protestant mind in neighboring lands attracts attention there. This Church in Bavaria is largely sustained by the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Germany, and sometimes an active difference between these will naturally find its way there, but the excitement soon blows over and all is peace again. They learn away from home that it is highly desirable to bury all trifling differences of opinion in the face of hostile influences.

Three objects of interest seem mainly to engage them there—namely, the Protestant activity in the Parliaments, the Evangelical League, and the new feature of the Ritschel theology. The Protestants in Bavaria have reason now to be satisfied with their relations to the State Church, and the manner of filling the chairs in the theological faculty at Erlangen no longer causes dissatisfaction. They are satisfied with the measure of liberty allowed to the Protestant Church in a land so overwhelmingly Catholic. But this satisfaction does not smother the desire for more perfect independence, which they hope for in the near future. The Evangelical League has had no very warm friends in Bavaria, largely from the fact that it could not much profit the Protestants of Bavaria, who exist not so much by right as by the sufferance of the Catholic State. The unity of the Protestant Church would be dear for them should it cost them their existence in their present independent way. As to the Ritschel theology, they fear its leaning towards too much Rationalism, and, therefore, they are convinced of the danger of that school of thought. There is a large Lutheran influence and feeling among the Protestants of Bavaria, and they therefore look askance at innovations in religious theories or life. The time will probably soon come when representatives of this school will

arising up among the Bavarian clergy, but until then they will be quiet; the meanwhile they will be preparing themselves for the conflict with spiritual weapons.

JEWISH MISSION WORK is being greatly enlarged at present in nearly all the European universities. Very recently in the theological seminary of Geneva, in Switzerland, an *Institutum Judaicum* was established by Professor Antoine Baumgartner, with the assistance of other professors. The number of members soon rose to nineteen; and this new *Institutum* in Geneva is already in alliance with the circles of like tendency of the German and northern universities.

There are now *Instituta Judaica* in the following universities: Leipsic, Erlangen, Rostock, Breslau, Berlin, Halle, Greifswald, and Bonn, and in the theological schools of Gradenfeld, Upsala, Copenhagen, and Christiania. In the two last named schools the *Institutum* is not especially distinguished from the academic mission, but, as is the case in Tübingen, the heathen mission and the Jewish work are combined. The main object of these *Instituta* is to give their members a glance at Jewish literature and popular Jewish life, that they may be better able to pursue their work. The *Instituta Judaica* of all the universities gather around the central one of Leipsic, which holds communication with them all, even the most distant. Besides Professor Delitzsch in Leipsic, with whose co-operation the *Institutum* of that university was formed in 1880, other professors are now holding lectures on the Jewish work. Among these are Schlottmann in Halle, Strock in Berlin, Dalman in Gradenfeld, and Baumgartner in Geneva. In Upsala the lectures of Rabbi Klein, of Stockholm, have been of special service to the students in the line of Jewish literature.

THE BALTIC PROVINCES have again been the scene of great violence toward the Lutheran Church. A resolution of what is called the "Russian Senate" now decrees punishment against the pastors whom for years it has been cramping and annoying in their work. This violence has of late become so constant that the German press has ceased to say much more about it—it has come to be expected as a fate, against which it is futile to complain. Perhaps the fact that some sixty pastors will now be deprived of their charges and banished from their homes will cause some kind of positive and organized protest against this cruelty, which means no less than the destruction of their Church organization. The number of the Lutheran pastors in the three provinces is about three hundred and fifty. If, now, the one fifth of these are with one blow deposed from their office, how and where will the Christian organization be maintained? The size of many of the parishes is now so great that the ordinary duties can with difficulty be performed—will they not be entirely abandoned in some regions? The Russian plan is clearly to recommend an apostasy from the old orthodoxy, under the specious plea that there are no men to care for it. And this course will be made easy now, as it has been at times in the past, by offering to the peasantry Church privileges in the

Russo-Greek churches without money and without price. The government will not delay to establish Greek churches where these do not exist, so that there will be centers where the sheep without shepherds can be gathered in. So lie matters now in the Baltic Provinces.

THE SCHOOLS OF FRANCE are in very bad hands at present, and their management is causing the Catholic authorities to establish many for themselves. Before they were committed entirely to the laity there were in France 134 schools with 43,000 scholars in the hands of the congregations; this latter purely Catholic power has now 193 free Catholic schools with 75,000 scholars. So this tampering with them has really increased their number. The statesmen of the Chambers are now toying with another dangerous matter. Their theory is, that all religions are supported by the State, and still they every year cut down the appropriations to the more than poor Protestant faculties of Paris and Montaubon, and every year they have thus far been restored.

They have just passed through this farce again. The Chambers sent to the Senate a budget with this part cut out, by an alliance between the Radicals and Ultramontanes. This naturally caused a great excitement in the Protestant circles of France. It was a base *combine*, indeed. The authorities of the Protestant Churches sent in numberless protests against this injustice to the Ministry of Public Worship, to the Chambers, and the Senate. The leaders of French Protestantism appealed to the senators and deputies not to allow this. Success crowned these zealous and united efforts. The Senate, by a large majority, restored the appropriation, and the Chambers ratified it. And thus the existence of the Protestant seminaries is secured for another year at least.

THE PAPAL MOURNING for the death of Emperor William is quite marked and peculiar. He sent to Berlin, through the Nuncio Galimbertini, an autograph message, expressing his great sorrow at the decease of the monarch, who, he said, had shown him "not few nor small proofs" of his friendship; and he had much to expect in the future from him. The concluding sentence was very significant: "This we pray for from the Almighty God, that he in the future ourselves and your majesty [Frederick] may bind together in the bonds of love and grace." Courtly politeness would, perhaps, have demanded that he should say "your majesty and us." But Galimbertini was received with the greatest distinction, and the letter did the Prussians a great deal of good. As he on his first visit was the guest of Emperor William, so Frederick now ordered him to be treated as his guest, and that all honors should be accorded to him as the representative of the Pope. Prince Bismarck assured him, in an interview lasting an hour and a half, that it was his desire and that of the emperor to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them and the papal see. The prince saw in the embassy of the nuncio a pledge of like views and intentions on the part of the Pope. The Minister of Public Worship informed him of the arrangements of the Prussian government

in regard to the ecclesiastical orders, and gave him the gratifying assurance that no less than four thousand members of the order of both sexes had returned to Prussia. Thus endeth the unfortunate Kulturkampf.

A FRENCH TRANSLATION of the gospels by a Catholic layman is quite a curiosity in France, and has met with much opposition, so that it had indeed been forbidden by the congregations of the *Index Expurgatorius*, though it had been approved by the Archbishop of Paris, by many members of the higher clergy, and had been praised and welcomed by the Pope. This conflict of authorities within the Church is quite interesting. Pius the Seventh had said that the Bible in the language of the people would cause more harm than good. The cause of the prohibition lies probably in the preface to that translation; "The Gospel is seldom read, even by those who pass for faithful Catholics. Among a hundred persons who take the sacraments there is often not one who has read the gospels, even by chance." This is too true to be palatable.

THE SPANISH CORTES has just been discussing the question of "civil marriage." According to a new bill offered, the ceremony must take place in the old style, in the Church, and at the altar. In order to legitimate the act in civil legislation, the local justice or some other civil official must be present and certify to the marriage in the official register. The Vatican has declared this *modus* acceptable, but does not like the idea that the marriage of Spaniards in a foreign land may occur according to the laws of that land without further formality, for this concession would make it possible for a civil marriage to be valid in Spain. But the present Sagasta ministry will not strike this concession out of the bill. The result was that the nuncio in Madrid requested the withdrawal of the whole matter for further conference with the Vatican.

"THY SERVANT" instead of "his majesty." The usual Church prayer in Prussia runs thus: "Especially let Thy grace become great over their majesties, our king and queen, and over the princes of the royal house," etc. Frederick II. (the Great) ordered that in place of the word "majesty" it should be said, "over the king, *thy servant*." Hahn, in his *Prussian History*, relates that it seemed unfitting to the king to speak of earthly majesty in presence of the Highest. Under Frederick William II. the word *servant* was dropped, to the sorrow of the dowager queen. The late emperor, Frederick III., requested that the words *thy servant* should be restored to the liturgy. But red tape declares that this alteration can take place only with the sanction of the General Synod, but grants that provisionally it may be used until legal legislation can settle the question.

FRENCH MISSIONS in the colonies received quite a blow from the Budget Commission, which struck out the grant for that purpose; but the Chambers put it back again to the tune of 600,000 francs. These Radicals are very much in favor of religious work abroad, but not at home. The

reason? Why, because the French priests drive French civil propaganda as a side issue, all, of course, for the "glory of France"—in the way they did in Madagascar. In Paris they are establishing a French "Religious Museum" in the Trocadero, in which all the religions of the world are to be represented with their saints, gods, and various styles of worship. The city authorities give the site for the building to the value of a million of francs, while the museum itself is endowed by a private individual, who has now this collection in Paris.

THE OLD CATHOLICS do not receive much favor in the Prussian Chambers; there has been a long debate over their case. They wanted $12,000 for their bishop, and then an appropriation for their new seminary in Bonn. In the second reading the money for the seminary was stricken out, because there are but seven students there studying Old Catholic theology, and only two of these are Prussians. But, after much discussion, it was resolved to restore it, lest the act might seem like intolerance. Whereupon the Catholic champion of the Chambers declared that there could be no intolerance in such an act, when the Old Catholics now receive more, *per capita*, a good deal, than the regular Catholic Church. The Minister of Public Worship still favored the appropriation, because new Catholic seminaries are being opened. It was finally granted.

THE JEWISH MISSION has entered into a new stadium in France. A *Commission d'initiative* has been formed, consisting of ten clergymen, who are to work for the mission in France, Algiers, and Tunis. The president of this commission is a Lutheran pastor, the secretary is the editor of the *Réveil d'Israel* (member of the *Eglise libre*), and the treasurer is also a Lutheran. The first work of the commission will be to endeavor to induce the Protestant missions of France to adopt the Jewish mission work. If this effort is not successful, as it will probably not be, the commission will organize itself as an independent body for the evangelization of the Jews.

According to the report of the feeble association for Jewish missions at Toulouse, there is but one society, that of the London mission, working among the eighty thousand Jews of France, and the forty-six thousand in the French districts of northern Africa. The above English association has one active worker in Paris. He is on the most friendly relations with the new commission, and greets them heartily, since the work is so great that one man can do but a small part of it. This English missionary (Mamlock) opened last fall in Paris a special hall for religious appeals to the Jews, which were quite largely attended. Besides this worker in Paris there is also an evangelist in Algiers, in the service of the British society. Pastor Kruger's *Réveil d'Israel* has now about five hundred subscribers, and is among the monthly publications for Jewish missions the most diversified and interesting.

France has always been very lenient to the Jews, and all the public offices are open to them. But the truth is, that of late they are becoming

obtrusive and troublesome—the Jewish bankers of Paris frequently control the government situation. This might be one reason why the movement to make Christians of them is quite popular. The Jews have also a great deal of liberty in Italy; and in both of these countries there is little of that anti-Semitic feeling so rife and boisterous in Germany. Holland leads in opening to them the avenues to political influence. The Jew Godefroy was twice minister of justice. In the Ministry of the Interior and that of Justice there are now Jewish secretaries. Among the members of the supreme court there are two Jews. Three Jewish professors in Gröningen are court counselors, and there are twenty-eight consular agents. In the Dutch East Indies the administration for the colonies is largely composed of Jewish officials.

The Lutheran Church in France seems to have quite enough candidates to fill its ministry, while in the Reformed Church there has been a deficiency for these ten or fifteen years. In November of last year there were fifty charges vacant from this cause, and in 1888 there were still more vacancies; some stations had been for ten years without a pastor.

That the Protestant Church must greatly suffer under such conditions is quite clear, for many of the members have gone over to the Catholic Church rather than be without any Church relations for their families. But the tide seems now about to turn; and if the Protestant theological faculties are not abolished by the State the want of candidates will soon be remedied. It is not easy now to say what the future may have in store for these faculties, which are partially supported by the State.

The Summer Resorts in Europe are frequently quite destitute of any means for Protestant worship. The Germans are now taking up this matter in earnest, and during the summer past started quite a number for their own countrymen in Belgium, one at Ostend, as also at several of the other principal sea-side resorts of that country. The lively interest taken in these shows that the movement was desired and is appreciated. In the Black Forest, in Baden, there will be several next summer for the season. In northern Italy several stations have been established, namely, at Menaggio and Bellagio, among the Italian lakes. On the island of Corsica there was one the past winter, and the Italian shores of the sea will soon be provided for. The Germans are asserting themselves every-where.

In Austria an earnest effort is being made to improve the elementary schools. From all parts of the empire come petitions for a general reorganization of the whole system. The principal demands are as follows: The parents shall not be compelled to send their children to schools where they shall be subjected to irreligious teaching. The care and control of religious instruction shall be in the respective Churches, which shall at the same time exercise a general inspection over said schools. The State shall hold the highest authority over these schools through the ministry of public instruction. This struggle is caused by the desire on the part of parents that their children shall in the first place enjoy religious in-

struction, and, in the second, that it shall be in harmony with their religious leanings; that is, that Protestant and Jewish children shall not be forced to accept Catholic teaching, as heretofore.

Mixed Marriages, that is, of the Catholics with Protestants or Jews, is a subject that is now coming to the foreground, because of the tendency of the hour to yield so much to the papal demands. The trouble is, that where Catholicism can rule it will, and in all mixed marriages the endeavor is always to secure the children for the "only saving" Church. The natural idea in Europe is, that the father, who gives the name to the offspring, should be allowed to control their religious teaching. But this position is being weakened by the idea that justice demands that the mother be also consulted in this matter, on the principle of "*suum cuique.*" "To the father the sons, and to the mother the daughters!" is now the most popular cry. The whole subject is an intensely troublesome one, and demands close and earnest attention, for it often separates families and engenders the bitterest of sorrows.

The System of Deaconesses is growing apace throughout Germany, and is, indeed, rapidly spreading throughout the world. Pastor Fliedner, of Kaiserswerth, has lately delivered in Saxony a telling address on the indispensable character of this work for the Protestant Church. He showed how, in all phases of home-mission work, the labors of these faithful women are effective. They now go into the infant schools, the hospitals, the asylums for fallen women, the retreats for the insane, and every-where at the call of suffering humanity. Their numbers have grown enormously, so that the Mother House at Kaiserswerth now contains on its rolls no less than 730 sisters. These go out on call to all parts of the world to do, and teach others to do, good. They are under no special vows, except to serve suffering humanity.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Work of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.—The Wesleyan Missionary Society holds its annual meeting in the spring in common with the rest of the English missionary societies. There is usually a "missionary breakfast" in connection with the anniversary, at which interesting speeches by missionaries and others are delivered, and a collection is taken. At the annual meeting proper a summary of the report for the year is read, and speeches fill out the programme. The British public is fond of speeches, and is always ready to crowd Exeter Hall to hear them. The society's income for the year was $659,335—or $30,500 less than the expenditures. This deficiency, added to that remaining over from last year, gives a debt at present of $84,345. To the expenditures must be added the sum of

$38,035, raised by the ladies' committee for female education in the East. The report states that the work of the society in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain has been attended with many signs of encouragement, and the new Moslem mission in Egypt is considered one of the most hopeful and interesting of recent mission adventures. In India the Gospel has been widely preached, and the chief hinderance comes from lack of funds. In China evangelistic work is very successful, but the number of vernacular preachers is less than it was, and an increase is called for. The various missions in Africa have been prosperous, and the churches in the West Indies are growing stronger. The policy of the society is stated as follows:

> The committee's policy is well defined and easily understood. English missionaries are now sent out only as they are needed for organization and supervision or for training institutions. Places of subordinate responsibility are occupied by trained native agency, while every convert is supposed to be, according to his knowledge and ability, a Christian voluntary worker. Were it not that this policy has been so steadily pursued it would ere this have been impossible to carry on the society's missions. They never cost so little proportionately as they do to-day. But even now, if they are to be maintained, there must be a growing income.

There are now 336 central stations or circuits under the control of the committee, with 1,338 chapels and preaching places, 333 missionaries and assistant missionaries, 2,000 other part agents, 32,325 members, and 4,674 on trial. Speaking at the missionary breakfast for South Africa, the Rev. E. Lones, for seventeen years a missionary in that field, said there were in that far-off country 108 English chapels and 4,020 members. But a grander work had been done among the natives. Besides a number of preaching places, they had 272 churches and chapels, with a membership of 20,259, and about 8,000 on trial. A satisfactory feature was that they had 1,296 native preachers.

Work of the English Baptist Missionary Society.—The English Baptist Missionary Society, which has successful missions in India, Ceylon, China, Japan, Palestine, Africa, the West Indies, and several States of Europe, has something like a debt of $20,000 to begin the present year with. Its receipts were $306,705, which shows an increase over the income of the previous year; but the outlay on the Congo mission was very heavy, and it is chiefly this which caused the deficit. The cost of the Congo mission was about $50,000, much of which went to pay for the transport of goods to the interior. The mission reports five stations, three on the lower and two on the upper Congo, with 19 missionaries and two female teachers. There have been several conversions during the year at San Salvador, the oldest station, and much evangelistic work has been done in the surrounding country. At Underhill, Wathen, and Stanley Pool 150 children are under instruction. The missionaries say that a characteristic of the converts is their desire to make the Gospel known to their countrymen. The most advanced station, Lukolela, was occupied by two missionaries in November, 1886. They have had a hard time of it until within the last

six months. They are getting hold of the language and are beginning to interest the people in God, of whose existence they seem to have been ignorant. They could not for a long time understand what the missionaries had come for. The missionaries receive many invitations to settle in distant towns, some of which have a population of 10,000 or more. An event of the year, in connection with the mission, is the publication of a *Dictionary and Grammar of the Congo Language*, the work of Mr. Holman Bentley. The missionaries in India give very encouraging reports of the work of the year. One writes of a Hindu priest converted, another of eleven baptisms, another of sixty-eight baptisms, still another of thirteen, and so on. Every-where a disposition to hear the Gospel is noted, and evidences that India is slowly turning to Christ are multiplied. One of the speakers at the anniversary of the society said Satan was pouring hogsheads of liquor into Africa, and tons of obscene and infidel literature into India.

The Scottish Mission in Livingstonia.—The Scottish Free Church is extending its missionary operations in Livingstonia, as the country around Lake Nyassa is called. The mission district extends along the western shore of the lake. At Bandawè, half way up the lake, is the mission head-quarters, with Dr. Laws in charge. Two missionaries are stationed near the north end of the lake; another is among the Angoni, on the table land to the west, and Dr. Henry has been prospecting for a suitable site west of Bandawè, and has found it, as he thinks, in the Livlezi valley in Chickuse's territory. All these missionaries are alone among savages far beyond the bounds of British rule. The mission, says Professor Lindsay, is threatened with a triple danger. The Angoni tribe, descendants of bands of Chakka's Zulu warriors, who had fought their way northward, have been threatening to drive out the Atonga, on whose land Bandawè is situated. The Arab slave-raiders, probably supplied with funds from Zanzibar, seem bent on establishing a great slave-trading power in the central table-land. The northern arm of this formidable confederacy is probably Tippoo-Tib, and the southern those bands who have attacked the stations of the African Lakes Company, and have threatened the Angoni from the west. Communication with Nyassa Land is only possible by the Zambesi and Shiré Rivers, and the Portuguese are threatening to close the latter river to British steamers. The British government has been asked, in behalf of the missions of the Free and Established Churches (that of the latter is at Blantyre, on the Shiré River, at the south end of the lake), to secure the freedom of the Zambesi River, to check the slave-trade, and to extend the sphere of British influence to Nyassa Land from the river Ruo northward. Portugal, having acquired territory on the north bank of the Zambesi, asserts the right to block navigation on that river. A large amount of money has been invested in that region—at least $150,000 by the British government, $250,000 by the Universities' Mission, $500,000 by the two Scottish missions, and probably $1,000,000 by the African Lakes Company. Lord Salis-

bury is said to have given assurance that something will be done to prevent the encroachments of Portugal and to restrict the operations of the Arabs.

THE FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—The results of the year 1887 in our foreign missions, as given in the sixty-ninth annual report of our Missionary Society, which has come to hand since the May number of this *Review* was prepared, are very encouraging. The total of members has been increased by 4,042, and that of probationers by 1,747. This is a net gain for the year of 5,789, which is a large percentage. The grand total of members and probationers is 60,268; of these 44,255 are members, and 16,013 probationers. The number of missions is 19, Korea being the newest, and appearing in the list with a credit of four probationers and 150 adherents. Of the 19 missions four are in China, three in India, seven in Europe, and one each in Japan, Korea, Africa, and Mexico. In our four missions in China—the Foochow, Central, North, and West—we have 3,050 members and 1,686 probationers, a total of 4,736, a very considerable fraction of the total of evangelical communicants in the whole empire. In India we have 4,470 members and 3,755 probationers, more than 8,000 altogether, which gives us about the fifth place among the missionary societies occupying that field. In our European missions—Italy, Bulgaria, Germany, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark—we have 30,696 members and 8,193 probationers, Sweden standing at the head of the list with 12,266 members and 3,937 probationers, and Bulgaria at the foot with 97 members and 15 probationers. In the number of conversions for the year the German Conference leads all our missions, and Switzerland stands second. The former reports 1,204, the latter 821. North India comes third with 790. The reports from the districts of the North India Conference are very interesting and encouraging. We learn from them that our missionaries have had great success in preaching the Gospel, and have been able to create a deep impression in the minds both of Hindus and Moslems. In some cases Hindu priests have been aroused to preach in opposition to Christianity. In Lucknow four Moslems were among the baptized converts. The people are quite ready to hear the Gospel in many places. The Foochow Conference is in a prosperous condition. All the districts were manned last year by native presiding elders, and at the last session of the conference 19 candidates were ordained deacons and 21 elders. The list of native ordained preachers in all our missions is now 369, a gain of 41 during the year. There are also 453 native unordained preachers, besides 588 native local preachers and other helpers.

AFFAIRS IN CENTRAL AFRICA.—Bishop Parker, the successor in East and Central Africa of the lamented Bishop Hannington, has completed a remarkable journey. Entering at Mombasa, on the east coast, just below five degrees north of the equator, he traveled through the mountainous district of Usambara and thence through the Nguru country to Mam-

boya, which is nearly due west from Zanzibar. The country traversed by the bishop is little known. The people were found to be quite friendly. At last accounts the bishop was at Wusambiro, which is to be occupied by the Church Missionary Society instead of Msalala. Mr. Ashe and Mr. Walker are in waiting at the station for an opportunity to enter Uganda, which is at present occupied by Mr. Gordon. More than twenty candidates have offered themselves for work in connection with the Universities' Mission under Bishop Smithies.

Since the above was written news has been received of the death of Bishop Parker, from sickness, in the territory at the south of the Victoria Nyanza.

Dr. Jacob Chamberlain, of the Arcot Mission of the Reformed (Dutch) Church, says the opportunity of the ages has come for Christianity in India. The mass of intelligent men in all parts of India have lost faith in their old religion, and it only needs a large force of Christian missionaries to induce them to accept the Gospel. Enough work has been done by the 658 ordained missionaries to make the people dissatisfied with their own system, but not enough to give them Christ. A Brahman is quoted as having said to a missionary:

> Sir, you come just often enough to make us dissatisfied with our old religion. You shake our faith in our ancient gods. You do not come enough to explain your religion to us, so that we can intelligently embrace it. Either keep away entirely or come and bring us to your God and Saviour.

Satan is making good use of the opportunity to flood India with all sorts of immoral and atheistic literature, and the "whole nation is on the eve of going out of Hinduism and into—what?" India can do more for Christ in the present generation, in Dr. Chamberlain's opinion, if the societies will put 5,000 missionaries into the field within five years. He writes:

> Five hundred years before Christ India was groaning under Brahmanical sacerdotalism, priestcraft, polytheism, idolatry, and caste. Buddha arose as a reformer. With the modicum of truth which he presented to them, teaching them that there was one God, that no human mediation was necessary between God and man, that all men constituted one brotherhood, that service for others was man's highest glory, he fired his disciples with zeal, and they went forth with him to conquer India to their new-found faith. Kings became the nursing fathers of the new religion. A prince of the royal house of Magadha, with his associates in the work, went down through India and crossed to Ceylon, and all Ceylon was converted to Buddhism. Other disciples went around the northern end of the Bay of Bengal and converted all Burmah to Buddhism. They entered Siam, and all Siam and its monarch embraced the faith. These Buddhist missionaries, climbing up the ascents of the Himalaya Mountains, went through Nepaul, and all the Nepaulese became Buddhists. They went over into Thibet, and Thibet became and remains Buddhist. They passed on into Siberia; into China, and two hundred millions of its people embraced their faith. They crossed over to the island empire of Japan, and the standard of Buddha was planted there.
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> Let this history be to us a prophecy and an inspiration. Give us the men and all the agencies God has put in our power, and we can, by God's blessing, bring India to Christ within this our generation. The Hindu converts will repeat the history of the past; but with new zeal, aided by a power that Buddha's disciples knew not. Again will they sweep through Nepaul and Thibet. Again will they traverse Siberia to its northern limit, and sweep over northern China, conquering

not for Buddha, but for Christ. The Mohammedan population of India, thus converted, will sweep northward and westward through Arabia and the Turkish Empire, and, joining with the missionary forces already at work, bring their co-religionists to Christ. The Japanese, now so rapidly and grandly enlisted under the banner of Christ, having then through their vigorous home missions completed the conversion of the islands of Japan, will sweep across through Korea and on through Siberia, to meet the advancing Hindu army of Christ. And the Chinese contingent, starting northward from Canton and Swatow and Amoy and Foochow, gathering force from the other coast missions and the Inland Mission, will complete the conquest of China, and all Asia will have been brought to Christ. Then upon the high mountains in Eastern Asia will those three armies meet, and together plant the royal standard of King Immanuel, and from those united hosts will go up the shout, "Hallelujah! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."

The China Inland Mission, which has been carrying on a more or less desultory work in China, is making large use of women evangelists with excellent results. Women are sent into some of the most distant provinces, sometimes singly, sometimes by couples, and they seem to be doing an important work among their own sex. There are six of these missionaries in the Province of Shan-si and as many more in the Province of Kiang-si. One of the women in Shan-si, writing to the *China's Millions*, tells of large meetings of women to hear the Gospel in Hoh-chow and vicinity, of idols destroyed as the result of their work, and of the conversion of native women, who are ready and anxious to make any and all sacrifices for the propagation of the truth among their countrywomen. In November last seventeen men and ten women were accepted as candidates for baptism in Hoh-chow. In the province no fewer than 200 persons were baptized in a single month last year. The native preachers are very efficient and devoted men. From the Province or Gan-Hwuy Miss Jessie D. Robertson writes that the "women do not wait for us to call upon them; many come to take us to their homes." One Sunday seventeen women and ten children called on Miss Robertson. Women frequently walk five or six miles to see the missionary and talk with her. Miss Mackee, of Kiang-su, tells of a mandarin who called to inquire about the "doctrine," and to ask her to call upon his wife and tell her about it. In one house Miss Mackee was allowed to take down the family god and burn it.

Reforming the Nestorians.—The Nestorians form one of the group of nominal Christian organizations known as the Oriental Churches. The Nestorian, otherwise called the Old Syrian Church of Persia, reaches back into antiquity as far as the fifth century, and owns Nestorius, the heretic, as its founder. Nestorius was condemned for refusing to call Mary the mother of God, and for contending that there were two persons as well as two natures in Christ. The Nestorians are in sharp conflict, as a matter of course, with the Latin Church as to the place of Mary in Christian worship, and they are much sounder also in other respects than Roman Catholics. They accept the Bible as the only rule of faith, and they are liberal toward Christians of other names. Their doctrine is, indeed, much better than their practice; but the missionaries of the American Board,

and, since 1870, of the Presbyterian Board, have done much to reform this ancient Church in the half century or more since Messrs. Smith and Dwight visited Oroomiah. A large number of congregations have been organized with a simple confession of faith and a presbyterial system of government, and many priests have been educated for the old Church. Separate societies were formed because of persecution, the utter lack of discipline in the old Church, and because the converts wanted purer and better instruction, and simpler worship than the old Church afforded. The missionaries were compelled to take this course. Says the Rev. J. H. Shedd, one of the missionaries:

The converts were first invited to unite with the missionaries in the Lord's Supper. As the numbers increased, and societies were formed in the several villages, native pastors were placed over them. In time, these preachers, including bishops, presbyters, and deacons, all of whom had received ordination in the old Church, met in conference with the missionaries. This Conference, after a series of years, adopted its own confession and form of government and discipline. It adopted some things from the old rituals and canons; it adopted others from the usages of Protestant Churches. The outcome is a system essentially presbyterian; very much the system proposed for the union of the Presbyterian and Congregational, and possibly the Episcopal Churches of Japan. The name is the Evangelical Syriac Church. Its members revere and love the missionary Church of their fathers, and appeal to their examples of zeal and piety and desire to conserve their true doctrines and their virtues. In all reforms there are some cases of fanaticism and excess, but in general there is a warm sympathy for their brethren that remain in the old communion. The ordination of the old Church has always been accepted, and the old ecclesiastics have passed freely from the old to the new communion. The missionaries united sometimes with the bishops in the ordination service, and it would be difficult to draw the line when the episcopal ordination ceased and the presbyterial began in the reformed body."

Between the old body and the new the relations have been kindly. The reformed party recognize the Patriarch, Mar Shimon, as their civil head; and he and the higher ecclesiastics of the old Church have generally been quite friendly in turn toward the missionaries. A majority of the priests and deacons in Persia, and a smaller proportion in Kurdistan, have favored the reform movement, which has reacted on the old Church and induced it to adopt many reforms. The mission had, in 1857, 216 communicants; in 1887 over 1,900. There are 120 preaching places, with 6,000 attendants, and 40 ordained ministers. Mr. Shedd says:

The reform has gathered nearly all the population within its influence in some places, and in many others it is not infrequent to find more than half the people of the villages in our winter services. On the other hand, in many places where the old ecclesiastics are immoral and opposed, ignorance, vice, and prejudice abound, and the reform moves very slowly.

This prosperous missionary work is now being greatly hindered by a High Church Mission under the special patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Of this mission Mr. Shedd says:

The lines of its efforts are so different from those on which we work that the two missions can have little in common, and it would seem that each might go its way in peace. Unfortunately these lines come in contact in every village and valley of the Nestorians, for our work has preoccupied the field. Where we have hitherto seen the peaceful prosecution of enlightenment and evangelization we now

meet with strife and division, rival schools, rival parties, and men ready to smite with the fist of wickedness. Constant trouble seems inevitable. No open quarrel has yet disgraced us, but the fact of rival missions by men of the same race and language is a disgrace in the eyes of Mussulmans, and brings dishonor on the blessed name of our common Lord. The worst of all is, that the ignorant people are led to fall back again upon the formal observance of church rites as the way to heaven.

The object of the Anglican mission seems to be to bring the Nestorian Church into communion with the Anglican and Roman and Greek Churches on a sacerdotal basis.

THE PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS had an income for the year ending in May upward of $900,000, while the Home Board received $783,627--making a total of nearly $1,700,000 for the centennial year of the General Assembly.

THE REV. JOHN ROSS gives a catalogue of twenty-one Korean gods, of which six are for women exclusively. He says nine tenths of this worship is by women, the men generally being disbelievers in them. There are eight gods for magistrates.

A FRENCHMAN of some note has lately written a book to show that the story about "The Great Chinese Wall" is a myth. He admits that there are a number of towers, but no such thing as a wall. But the Rev. J. H. Roberts, a missionary of the American Board, in Kalgan, North China, says the wall is no more a myth than is Bunker Hill Monument. He lives so close to the wall that he sees it every day, and has often climbed over it. The part of the wall visible at Kalgan was erected B. C. 21-204. It is about fifteen feet high and twelve feet wide at the base, tapering almost to a point at the top. At the Nankan Pass the wall is from fifteen to thirty feet high and fifteen feet wide at the top. Mr. Roberts has crossed the wall at eight different points—three west of Kalgan and five east of Kalgan, representing a distance of two hundred and sixty miles. He says:

> Of the Chinese who live close by the Great Wall—under its shadow, if you please—there are two classes of people who never know it or see it, namely, those who are blind and those who are very busy—too much absorbed in business to study the mountain tops. But neither class would ever think of pronouncing the Great Wall a myth.

AT the opening of a new church and school-house in Northern Kaffraria, Africa, in connection with the Scottish Free Church Mission, the collection amounted to 3 stirks, 52 sheep, 12 goats, 5 hens, 13 bags of grain, and about $125 in money. The collection at Duff, on another similar occasion, quite as varied in kind, netted $225. The Free Church *Monthly* would like to see such liberality in Scotland.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

The Baptist Quarterly Review for April treats with ability several topics of general interest. In "The Classes against the Masses," the Hon. J. L. M. Curry pleads vigorously for the American doctrine of human equality, points to the tendency of governments to favor by tariffs, currency, land and corporation laws the interests of the rich, thereby constituting them into "classes." The key-note of his article is, that to an American there should be no religion of the State, no divine right, no class by inheritance, no peers not made by intellect, and no aristocracy but that won by superior excellency and good works." In "Some Modern Latin Hymns" Dr. McKenzie calls attention to the fact that men of eminence in learning and in authorship are devoting "fresh study" to the sacred Latin poetry which has come down to us from the first Christian centuries and from mediæval times. He mentions the most distinguished writers on Latin Hymnology, and particularly the Rev. Dr. Silas T. Ravel, of whose original Latin hymns and Latin versions of well-known English hymns he gives several excellent specimens. Under the title of "The American Religions" the Rev. Stanley A. McKay gives a very intelligent account of the birth of those two whelps of iniquity known to the world as Mormonism and Spiritualism. "Ministerial Unction" is the title of a timely paper by the Rev. John Love, Jr. Unction he defines as power *from* God, power with God, and, more than all, such power with men as is different from ordinary influence. He who possesses unction becomes a medium through whom God moves men, and like Baxter of whom it is said, "he always spoke as one who saw God." The most scholarly, though not the most satisfactory, article in this number is by the Rev. Dr. A. C. Kendrick, on "Preaching to the Spirits in Prison." His elaborate exegesis of Peter iii, 18–20 conducts him to the conclusion of Huther, Wiesinger and some others who interpret Peter as teaching that Christ, *after assuming his resurrection body*, visited the abode of lost souls and there made proclamation of his work of grace to the spirits of that wicked generation which perished in the Deluge, or, as Dr. Kendrick suggests, at least to such of them as were not reprobates. That neither this nor the conclusion that Jesus preached in Hades *between his death and resurrection* can be sustained by any exegesis which fairly interprets the structure of the sentence in this disputed text, and which can be made to fit in with the general tone of Peter's thought in the paragraph to which it belongs, is, we think, clearly and fully shown by Dr. Robert Johnstone in his recently published commentary on Peter's first epistle. On the other hand, the interpretation which finds in Peter's passing reference to the victims of the Deluge nothing more than a fitting illustration of the vastly greater effects of apostolic preaching concerning the risen Christ than were produced by his gracious dealings with the antediluvians, of whom, instead of multitudes, only eight souls were saved, does fulfill, as Dr. Johnstone shows, all the requisites of a satisfactory exegesis. And there is nothing

in the use of the words or in this construction inconsistent with the view that this is their meaning. Neither does this view disturb, as Dr. Kendrick does, the almost universal belief of the Evangelical Church, that death puts an end to human probation. True, Dr. Kendrick seeks to limit Christ's preaching to the dead of the Deluge, but since the ways of God are equal, who can admit that he gave one generation of sinners a second probation without being forced to concede that equal justice demands a similar second opportunity for all mankind?

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April discusses, with marked ability, such live questions as the Dogma of Probation after Death, Premillennialism, the Divine Immanency, the Cosmogony of Genesis, etc. The article on a post-mortem probation is from the pen of the Rev. A. J. Lyman, who charges that dogma with a quality which its advocates profess to have abjured, namely, *illiberality*. In sustaining this charge Mr. Lyman writes with a fine discrimination, which aims to give not loose statements, but such precise definitions of the dogma as are accepted by its representative teachers. He shows not only what it includes, but also what it excludes. He discriminates it from Rationalism, purgatory, Unitarianism, and Universalism. Consequently, though it is a deflection from orthodoxy, it is not, in his opinion, "a cardinal heresy." What it actually teaches is, "the doctrine of future probation *under the form of a conscious acceptance or rejection of the historic Christ.*" This is not a *new* dogma to Christendom, but our author claims and proves that it is grounded upon an illiberal mode of exegetical reasoning; that in its relation to the salvation of infants it is illiberal, in that it affords no ground for certainty of salvation even for the youngest child; that its narrow and merely textual way of handling the Bible is illiberal; that it is defended by illiberal and petty casuistry; and that by making the historic phase of redemption the equivalent of redemption itself it makes a part take the place of the whole, which, says Mr. Lyman, very justly, is essential illiberality. But, while thus demonstrating the illiberality of the dogma, Mr. Lyman shows himself to be a scripturally liberal thinker. The article on Premillennialism is by Dr. S. H. Kellogg. It is not dogmatic, but apologetic and explanatory. The author's sympathies seem to be with the theory that the reign of righteousness on earth is to be preceded by the second coming of Christ and the resurrection of believers. Dr. James Douglas, in a profoundly thoughtful paper on the Divine Immanency, clearly discriminates the scriptural concept of God as immanent in nature or matter as its inner energizing force—the life of all life, the force of all force—from Pantheism, which affirms that "the totality of existence not merely has its origin in God, but is itself God, and that the Deity has no separable existence apart from the material universe; that God and matter are one, inseparable and indivisible; the all is God." In working out these distinctions Dr. Douglas views the theories of the Divine Immanency in its relation to Gnosticism, to Arianism, to priestly ritualism, to Providences, to Teleology, to the Divine Incarnation, to Bible teaching, to the teachings

of Science, and to Biology. In a future paper he is to present it in its relations to materialism, to miracles, to inspiration, to regeneration, and to prayer. This topic, so ably treated, is timely, in that it furnishes good anchorage ground for minds perplexed either by science, falsely so-called, or by real science distorted by false philosophies into a seeming antagonist of Him by whom this visible world, which science seeks to explore, was created and is sustained.

The Presbyterian Review for April opens with a very sensible paper on Mr. George's *Progress and Poverty*, by Dr. George Munro Grant. After giving due credit to Mr. George for ability, sincerity, and for perception of some social truths, Dr. Grant calls attention to some of the fallacies in his popular book. First, he claims that Mr. George does not state the problem of the social question correctly. It is not true, as he affirms, that "under the present system the rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer." On the contrary, the laboring classes were never so well situated as at present. Again, it is not true that "wages, instead of being drawn from capital, are in reality drawn from the product of the labor for which they are paid;" but it is demonstrable that capital gives value to labor from which it not unfrequently gets no profits. Neither is it true, as George asserts, that "with material progress wages fail to increase, but rather they tend to decrease." Existing facts prove the falsehood of this proposition. Thus point by point Dr. Grant takes the foundations from Mr. George's book, and insists that the tendency of the times is favorable to the equality of the laboring classes. A very delightful paper by Professor Curtis is on "Divine Love in the Old Testament." It brings out the truth that, excepting the depth of love shown in the incarnation, the Old Testament, as well as the New, testifies that God is love. In a "Historical Note," Dr. Charteris treats of "Woman's Work in the Church." The Doctor's sympathies are with woman's work, and he recognizes the great value of her services in teaching, visiting the sick, and ministering to the poor. He approves of organizations of women as deaconesses of the Church, but he cannot find either in Scripture or in church history any evidence that women ever did or should fill the office of pastor, or exercise ecclesiastical authority as rulers. The *Presbyterian Review* is very ably conducted.

The *North American Review* for May opens with a brilliant article by the Hon. W. E. Gladstone, in which he literally tears to pieces the tissue of fallacies which made up Colonel Ingersoll's "Reply to Dr. Field." In this paper Gladstone is at his best. The strokes of his logical pen easily batter down the specious appearances of argumentation of which Ingersoll's assaults on Christianity are made up. In his hands the skeptical Colonel resembles a pigmy in the grasp of a giant; for his sparkling assumptions are demonstrated to be utterly groundless, his knowledge of Christianity shallow, and his presentments of religious truth speciously false. Yet one cannot help regretting that the incorrigible skeptic may

gain some prestige among the thoughtless, because the English statesman accepts him as a foeman worthy of his steel. In a crisp paper on "Dangerous Trusts," W. M. Rapsher calls public attention to those audacious organizations by which "all the great necessities of life in this country, excepting only the air, are now controlled." He affirms, on apparently good grounds, that "much more of the wealth of the United States is now owned and controlled by corporations and monopolistic trusts than by private persons." He claims that these trusts rob and rule the American people as wrongfully as do the "blooded and titled aristocracy of Europe" the subjects of their kingdoms. And he strongly insists, that if those huge combinations are not speedily suppressed by law they will goad the people to take "revolutionary action" to overthrow them. It is to be hoped, however, that the speedy demand of the people for legal protection against these robbers of the public will forestall the need of any resort to revolutionary methods. There are many other good things in the *North American Review*, which was never more vigorous than now.

The *Contemporary Review* for May is rich in articles treating mainly of such living questions as "The Occupation of Land," "Irish Statistics," "Technical Education," "The Dislocations of Industry," the "Position of Women in Ancient Rome," etc. We specially note Dr. William Wright's paper entitled, "The Power Behind the Pope," because its facts exhibit the folly of the Pope's claim to infallibility, and prove with seeming conclusiveness that there is in the Vatican a power stronger than the man who wears the triple crown. These facts are as curious as they are significant. In them we have first the hero of a singular tale, one Colonel Lasserre, of the French army, who, having been cured of sore eyes, as he alleges by "Our Lady of Lourdes," wrote a history of the appearance of the Blessed Virgin to Bernadette, the peasant girl of Lourdes. His book, written in brilliant style, became so universally popular that its avails made its author rich, and through it "Notre Dame de Lourdes" became famous. Subsequently Colonel Lasserre translated the "Four Gospels" into sparkling French, as it is now spoken by the people of France. He had it printed in paragraphs and in attractive type. He rendered such texts as are supposed to teach the perpetual virginity of Mary and the primacy of Peter in harmony with the Douay version; but the Greek word for repent he translated "be converted," "repent," instead of "do penance;" which rendering he supported in a critical note. So also he translated Christ's retort to Satan by "Adore the Lord thy God, and do not render worship to any but him alone;" and in another verse he made the text read, "We are servants without merit," etc. To this version of the gospels he prefixed a strong preface, in which he severely censured the Church of Rome for withholding the gospels from the people. His version of the gospels fell like a new revelation upon the French people. It was approved by the Archbishop of Paris, by many other high dignitaries of the Church, and by the Pope himself. It sold immensely. In twelve months twenty-five editions were published. Then a decree of the

"Sacred Congregation of Cardinals appointed for the Index of books of degraded doctrine," dated December 19, 1887, made its appearance, in which Colonel Lasserre's translation of the four gospels is proscribed, and declared to be put on the Index of forbidden books. And this decree affirms that "our most holy Lord Pope Leo XIII." approves this action of the Sacred Congregation. Alas, poor Leo! On the 4th of December, 1886, he expresses, in a letter addressed to the colonel, his approval of his publication as a work "so full of interest," and his "earnest desire" that the object indicated in the preface—that is, to make the people hear, taste and relish the direct lessons of the Saviour . . . which fell from his lips should be realized." Then on the 19th of December, 1887, he approves a decree which places that same book on "the Index of books of degraded doctrine." Was his approval hastily given? If so, wherein lies the value of an infallibility which may err through incautious haste? Was he compelled by the Jesuitic forces embodied in the secret council of the Sacred Congregation to retract and contradict his approval? If so, then what becomes of a claim to infallibility that is subject to a human power which it dare not resist? Assuredly, Pope Leo has committed a blunder which his ecclesiastical adherents will regard as worse than a crime, because it makes the absurdity of his claim to infallibility obvious to the common sense of mankind.

The *Catholic World* for May contains an answer to the inquiry, "Is there Salvation outside of the Catholic Church?" by the Rev. John Gmeiner. His answer to it is extremely charitable, at least in appearance. For while asserting that "there is no salvation outside the Church," and that there is but the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, of which the Roman pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, is the "visible and infallible head," he concedes that God may save such as "without any fault on their part may not be professed members of this Church." He even indorses Cardinal Manning's "beautiful words" in which that prelate teaches that even Protestants who believe in Jesus Christ, and hold in good faith that their Church is the holy Catholic Church, may be saved. Do these concessions indicate that a radical change is coming over the spirit of Romanism? If so, then the leopard has begun to change its spots, and one may fain hope that it may yet retrace the steps of its descent from truth to error, become purified from its heresies, and cease to be anti-Christ. But on the principles of Mr. Gmeiner the blood of the army of martyrs whom it slew because of their inability to recognize it as Christ's Church must be on its garments. How can it justify itself for having slaughtered millions who, Cardinal Manning being judge, were God's dear children?

The *Church Review* for January is mainly devoted to the treatment of questions strictly denominational. In the "Three Ordinations of the Apostles," Dr. A. H. Bailey reads the opinions of High-Churchmen into the sacred text, thereby reaching the conclusion, that "all ingenuous

minds must in time conclude that the Christian Church has a visible and divine organization, and that this is under officers of three grades, bearing three commissions;" and he prays for the coming of the "blessed day" when Christians "shall be of one mind in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God," that is, in the Protestant Episcopal Church. One may appreciate the kindliness of this writer's spirit while wondering at the simplicity implied in his evident faith that his Church is destined to grow into the visible embodiment of that spiritual household of faith whose organic relation is secured, not by governmental forms, but by the union of its members through personal faith with Christ, who, being their Head, is the source and support of their life. Donald J. Mackey has an interesting paper on "The Cathedrals and Historical Churches of the Old World," the avowed purpose of which is to promote the growth of the cathedral system in this country. An illustrated paper describes *con amore* those "ecclesiastical vestments" which "puritanical ideas" have "brought into disuse," but which are, nevertheless, still authorized by "a rubric of the Book of Common Prayer." In this paper the reader is shown pictorially and descriptively the alb, the amice, the chausuble, the cope, the dalmatic, the gremial, the maniple, the morse, the stole, and other "ornaments" of the ministers of the Church, which "in the course of centuries have been found to conduce to the reverence and glory of God." To observers outside the Church this paper tends to encourage ritualism, although its writer denies that he has "any thought of upholding modern ritualism." Yet, strangely enough, he ranks this fancy-vesting of the clergy among things which promote that "order and decency" which is "the mainstay of the Church." If he is correct, it must be a matter to be regretted that, when Paul was writing to Timothy and Titus concerning the things essential to Church order, he had no one to enlighten him concerning the importance of ornamental and costly vestments to the deacons and elders, whom he instructed them to ordain! Seriously, one entertaining high regard for the Episcopal Church, as the writer does, cannot help regretting that any of its thinking men are found advocating the use of adornments which had their origin in the desire of the Papal Church to make itself acceptable to the populace by imitating the practices of the pagan priesthood.

A late issue of the *Westminster Review* has a suggestive article on the vexed question of "Tramps and Professional Beggars," in which the writer reviews *A History of Vagrants and Vagrancy, and Beggars and Begging*, by J. Ribton-Turner. This curious volume makes it clear that the tramp is not a social parasite of recent origin, as some suppose, but had become such a nuisance to our Anglo-Saxon forefathers twelve hundred years ago, and that they enacted laws to punish him as early as the year 673. The later Saxon kings renewed these earlier laws against those "wandering" men. In 1348 the law made it a penal offense to give them alms. In 1359 beggars able but unwilling to work were ordered to leave the city of London "on pain of the stocks and imprisonment." Stern Henry VIII.,

in his endeavors "to stamp out the pest of beggary," is said to have hung "thousands of great thieves, petty thieves, and *roges*." During the brief reign of Edward VI. vagrants, by a Draconian law, were branded with a hot iron, the letter V being thus marked on their breasts, after which they were held as slaves for two years by those who complained of them to the justices. Modern England, though less cruel in its laws, has striven hard to suppress this social evil. Yet the tramp still lives there, and, as Mr. Ribton-Turner shows by abundant facts, still preys on the good-natured charity of the public, who it is estimated, with apparent correctness, annually bestow not less than fifteen millions of dollars on these indolent, shameless, swindling wanderers.

The skill of these social pests in putting on the semblance of real misfortune is one source of their success in begging. People cannot easily discriminate between the child of temporary poverty and the professional tramp. Hence, being unwilling to refuse aid to one of the former class, they give to the latter. But, as a reformed tramp once confessed to Mr. Ribton-Turner, "out of every ten tramps there are nine impostors." And, as our author remarks, "the deserving poor *never beg*. They prefer to die rather than to incur such a degradation." They do not tell pitiful tales, as tramps do, but simply ask employment. It is therefore safe as a rule to treat tramps on the apostolic principle, "that if any would not work neither should he eat." Such is the opinion of Mr. Ribton-Turner concerning the vagrants who for centuries have been, and still are, the noxious and disgusting parasites of English society. That the tramps of our own country, in which it is so easy for an industrious man to find employment, also deserve to be dealt with as social nuisances no man who has studied the question will deny. They are moral lepers with whom society cannot sympathize, whom society should not support by almsgiving, but whom it should restrain from wandering by providing places in which, by compulsory labor, they might be taught that it is better to live by honest industry than by beggary. Perhaps the republication of Mr. Ribton-Turner's book might lead American philanhtropists to give special attention to measures for restraining the growing evil of beggary in our country.

Apropos of the action of our late General Conference providing for the appointment and employment of women as deaconesses, is a carefully written paper in the June number of the *Andover Review* on "European Deaconesses." It is written by Mrs. C. M. Mead, of London, England, who appears to have pretty thoroughly studied the literature of the question, and has condensed a wide range of information into a very interesting and practically valuable article. In searching for the originating motive of the institution of modern deaconesses in May, 1836, at Kaiserswerth, on the Rhine, she traces it to the influence which a study of the work of the philanthropic Mrs. Fry among the convicts of England exerted on the mind of Theodor Fliedner, the founder of the Rhenish-Westphalian Deaconess Society. This great-hearted man, the pastor of a little Protestant church in Kaiserswerth, while traveling in England

was so deeply impressed by what he saw of Mrs. Fry's success that on his return home he began preaching to the convicts in the prison at Düsseldorf, which was six miles from his parish. The fruits of this modest effort to benefit convicts, though scant at first, gradually increased until he felt the need of an asylum in which discharged convicts disposed to reform might be sheltered and trained to habits of industry. In his own garden was a little summer house twelve feet square, in which he and his wife cared for two women. This was the cradle of the Kaiserswerth institution. He soon perceived that with the growth of public sympathy with discharged convicts and the sick poor a necessity would arise for trained Christian nurses. This perception was the seed of the above-named deaconess society, which in twenty-five years numbered about two hundred deaconesses, working at some eighty stations. After Fliedner's death, in 1864, the number steadily increased until in November last the institution numbered 580 deaconesses and 196 probationers, working at more than 200 different stations, caring for the sick and dying, reclaiming the vicious, teaching the ignorant, and alleviating various sorts of suffering. From this mother-institution fifty-nine other independent central deaconess houses have arisen in Continental Europe. In England also Kaiserswerth has made its example felt, albeit the "sisterhoods," organized too nearly on the model of Romanist nunneries, have multiplied there more rapidly than the more Protestant and scriptural deaconesses. Kaiserswerth has reproduced itself in the Orient, where it has ten affiliated houses, with their connected stations. And there is a deaconess house, superintended by a Kaiserswerth deaconess, at Rochester, in our own country. Mrs. Mead's article also gives a synoptical statement of the organization, methods, and discipline of deaconess houses, and she names as sources of wider information such works as the *Life of Pastor Fliedner*, translated by Catherine Winkworth; *Deaconesses, or the Official Help of Women in Parochial Work*, etc., by Rev. J. S. Howson; *Herzog's Real-Encyclopaedie*, article *Diakonissenhäuser; Praying and Working; Deaconesses in the Church of England*, etc., etc. Her article is very timely. The action of our General Conference was assuredly the expression of a widespread feeling that the times, the needs of the Church, and the aspirations of Christian women demand some system through which the agency of women may be made to tell with more efficiency than ever on the evangelization of society. The *Andover Review* for June, laden though it be with good things, contains no more useful paper than this of Mrs. Mead; albeit Professor Bemis's article on "The Distribution of Our Immigrants," showing that two-fifths of our entire population consist of persons who, by their birthplace or parentage, are unfitted for American citizenship, contains facts sufficient to excite profound concern respecting our political prospects and social perils in the heart of every thoughtful Christian citizen.

The *New Englander and Yale Review* for June has for its leading article a valuable and suggestive paper on "Men of Wealth and Institutions of

Learning," by Rev. S. H. Lee. It opens with a discussion, characterized by lucidity and breadth, of the relation which the higher education imparted by the college, the university, the scientific and the professional school sustains to the family, to the Church, to the State, to society, and, in short, to every thing included in modern civilization. The end of such education is "the full development of manhood." It is indispensable to all the other institutions on the maintenance of which the progress of social order depends. It is essential to the highest results attainable by the Christian ministry. History shows that learned men have been the centers of influence from which those forces that have made epochs in the Church and in the world have radiated. It was Paul, the best educated man of the Jewish race, whose preaching demonstrated the power of the Gospel in the great Gentile cities of his times. In the State educated men have been the strong walls against which untrained men of energetic action have leaned for support. Learned men have made the bar illustrious, and have been the stars by whose light medical schools have been guided in their studies. By reasoning forcibly on such facts as these Mr. Lee amply sustains his claim that the relation of institutions of higher learning is fundamental to the progress of Christian civilization.

That the American people are clearly conscious of this truth is made apparent, as Mr. Lee further shows, by the fact that they have, by their voluntary efforts and sacrifices, called into existence three hundred and forty-six colleges and universities, forty-nine schools of law, one hundred and fifty-nine of theology, and one hundred and seventy-five of medicine. True, many of these are not ideal institutions, but "only the expression of a grand purpose." Yet they demonstrate the fact that a tolerably clear conception and conviction of the indispensability of higher education to national progress exists in the American mind in the West as well as in the East, our newest States and Territories being strongly bent on having their own local colleges.

But colleges cost money. Their needs are perennial. It requires quite a large number of first-class men to work a college successfully; and such men ought to be paid not stinted but liberal salaries, provided for by ample endowments. College buildings, too, are expensive, and they need constant repairs, frequent renewals, and by no means infrequent improvements. These wants cannot be met by charges for instruction, because very many—Mr. Lee says five sixths—of their students come from families of limited means. Whence, then, should their funds be derived? Mr. Lee inclines to the opinion that the State should supply them. To this it may be objected, 1. That since State funds must come from a tax levied on the whole people, a vast majority of whom can never send their children to colleges, it is scarcely just to tax the whole for the benefit of the small minority who can be taught by them. It is true that the higher education of the few is a public benefit, nevertheless the direct benefit to those who are so educated is so much greater than the indirect benefit to the many that it is not just to compel the latter to contribute to the education of the former. 2. State support means State interference in man-

agement, and this again signifies political influence, favoritism, and corruption. Colleges must not, therefore, look to the State, but to men of wealth who appreciate the importance of higher education to society, especially to its economic order, by which rich men are enabled to acquire and retain riches. Hence ample endowments derived from the gifts of intelligent Christian men must be sought for as the springs which are to feed the resources of our institutions of higher learning. As Mr. Lee observes, "The annual income of Oxford and Cambridge, England, is three million and seventy thousand dollars, almost twenty times as much as Yale has from similar sources." Who can estimate the worth of the benefits conferred on English society by the educated men who reap the direct benefit of those grand endowments?

That many rich men in America, and many of the rich men in our Methodism, are liberal givers is not to be fairly questioned. Yet it is unquestionably true that, viewed as a body, their liberality is not proportioned to the increase of their wealth. Mr. Edward Atkinson is cited by Mr. Lee as putting the wealth of the country at the enormous sum of $60,000,000,000, its annual increase at $900,000,000, and its daily increment at $3,000,000. Beside these figures, how insignificantly small the gifts of the rich to our universities appear! Out of such vast accumulations how easy it would be to place all our old universities and many of our new ones on foundations as solid as those which give such colossal strength to England's Oxford and Cambridge! And to what better use can our wealthy brethren put a portion of their gains than to endow a college chair? Fifty thousand dollars given for this purpose and duly invested by its trustees would keep a man of the very highest order of mind and culture, generation after generation, at the head of a class of young men under training that would make them powers for good to the Church, to the country, and to the world. As Mr. Lee says to his readers, so say we to ours, such gifts ought to be secured, but to secure them "*somebody must work at it.*" And where can that "somebody" be found, if not in the person of that pastor in whose congregation are men who cannot *innocently* spend the incomes from their investments and business operations? Let wealthy Methodists therefore see to it that Methodist colleges and universities are fully endowed!

The Gospel in All Lands, published by our Missionary Society, has in its May number one symposium on Mormonism and another on African Missions, with other articles of interest on various topics. The characteristic feature of this magazine is its compilation and statement of missionary facts adapted to inform the general reader and to serve as raw material with which sermons and speeches may be illustrated.

The Missionary Review of the World, for June, is filled with articles which deal comprehensively and ably with several living missionary questions. It is not exclusively a recorder of facts, but is characteristically given to the discussion of the principles which lie at the base of the great mission-

ary movements of the time. It has a strong editorial corps, a goodly number of correspondents, and, on the whole, fills our ideal of what a non-sectarian missionary *Review* should be.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine for June is, as it always is, very finely illustrated. It also contains its accustomed variety of topics ranging from grave to gay, from articles that impart information to those that are chiefly entertaining. That such a magazine can be offered at so low a price is one of the marvels of modern times.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Systematic Theology. A Complete Body of Wesleyan Arminian Divinity, consisting of Lectures on the Twenty-five Articles of Religion. By the late Rev. Dr. THOMAS O. SUMMERS, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Vanderbilt University. The whole Arranged and Revised with Introduction, copious Notes, and Theological Glossary, by the Rev. JOHN J. TIGERT, M.A., S.T.B. In two volumes. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 552. Nashville, Tenn., Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Price, $2 per vol.

The late Dr. Summers was the leading theologian of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He was widely read in theological lore, a strong thinker, a logical reasoner, and a vigorous writer. The substance of his lectures, carefully and frequently re-written, is contained in this work. In this, its first volume, we find an "Introduction" which contains "an outline view of theological science," and a chapter on "The Creeds and Confessions of Christendom." After this we have Book 1, on Theology Proper, or the Doctrine of God; Book 2, on Christology and Objective Soteriology, or the Doctrine of Christ and of his Salvation; Book 3, on Christ; Resurrection, Ascension, Session, Second Coming, and on Eschatology; (the Doctrine of Last Things;) Book 4, on Pneumatology and Subjective Soteriology, or the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit and of his Administration of Redemption; Book 5, Bibliology, or the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures. In his discussion of these great questions our author is not superficial on the one hand nor prolix and tedious on the other. The sweep of his treatment, though necessarily not exhaustive, is yet exceedingly broad and sufficiently comprehensive for his purpose. He omits no really essential phase of the subjects discussed, is quite full in his statements of questions in speculative theology and in his explanations and exposure of the manifold theories maintained by distinguished errorists through the ages. In his definitions of doctrines, while independent in the expression of his own views, he is careful to sustain his orthodoxy, not by argument only, but also by giving copious and pertinent citations from recognized Arminian and other authorities. On points touching the

philosophy of the Atonement, concerning which Methodist writers are not in close agreement, he prefers the views of Pope to Raymond and Miley, albeit his reasons for this preference are by no means conclusive. On the vexed question of inspiration he accepts the *dynamical* theory, saying, "Holy men of God spake"—there is the human *dynamism*—"as they were moved by the Holy Ghost"—there is the divine *dynamism*, "and both concurring, the result is the inspired, infallible and authoritative Scriptures." Mr. Tigert, its editor, claims that this work is "a full, and in some sense authoritative, exposition of evangelical Arminianism as developed within the Methodist Episcopal Church, South."

Old and New Testament Theology. By HEINRICH EWALD, late Professor in the University of Göttingen, Author of the *History of Israel*, etc. Translated from the German by the Rev. THOMAS GOADBY, B.A., President of the Baptist College. Nottingham. 8vo, pp. 458. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner & Welford.

This volume is a selection from the second and third volumes of a continuous treatise by Ewald in four volumes, of which the above is the alternative title of the whole work. Its first volume has been translated and published under the title of *Revelation: its Nature and Record;* and is a discussion of "the Doctrine of the Word of God." Its fourth volume, on "The Doctrine and Life of Man," and of "The Kingdom of God," is not yet translated. As a whole, the treatise is a valuable contribution to biblical theology. It deals with the theology of Scripture from "a purely historical and critical point of view." In this volume, its learned and devout author discusses "Biblical Doctrine in its Origin and Historical Development." His method is strictly scientific. He traces the doctrines of Scripture from their original and partial revelations, their first more or less obscure utterances, through the narratives, experiences, and prophetic sayings of Holy Writ, down to their bright unfolding in the teaching and life of Christ. The theological student may not accept Ewald's speculations on the Descent of Christ into Hades, the Final Extinction of Sin, etc.; but in spite of these speculative defects he will enjoy the originality, the freshness, the suggestiveness of his thoughts, and be profited by the breadth and comprehensiveness of his views and by the ample and varied learning which he brings to the elucidation of the plan of God as revealed in Holy Scripture.

The First Epistle of Peter: Revised Text, with Introduction and Commentary. By ROBERT JOHNSTONE, LL.B., D.D., Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. 8vo, pp. 417. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

In this volume we have the Greek text of the epistle, with exegetical Notes; an "Introduction" treating of its genuineness, its structure, and literary characteristics, and a "Commentary." The author's purpose in writing the latter was "by a careful examination of the grammatical structure of the epistle to ascertain, as exactly as the data permit, what

is taught in it, and how the different parts of the teaching are related to each other." Working with this aim Dr. Johnstone avoided "formal dissertations," and sought to elucidate the text by critical expositions. His exegesis is thorough and independent, albeit in his exegetical discussions he freely consults such commentators as Bengel, Weisinger, Professor Salmond, Leighton, Professor John Brown, etc. Evidently having in view the attempts of the "New Theology" school to find the dogma of "probation after death" in that famous passage concerning the preaching of Christ to the spirits in prison (1 Peter iii, 19, 20), he devotes upward of forty pages to its discussion. But after a learned examination of the exegesis of every writer of note on this vexed question, he finds himself forced, both by the terms of the text and its relation to the reasoning of the apostle, to the conclusion that Peter only alluded to the preaching of Christ to the antediluvians through Noah, by way of contrasting the limited result of that proceeding (only eight persons) with the vast effects of the gospel of the risen Christ then visible. The advocates of probation after death cannot well help feeling, we think, that Dr. Johnstone has fairly cut away this, their only plausible text, from beneath their dogma. Viewed as a superior piece of exegetical work and as a luminous exposition of Peter's first epistle, this volume, even though it be mildly Calvinistic in its concept of the doctrine of election, is eminently worthy of a place in every theological library.

Sacred History from the Creation to the Giving of the Law. By EDWARD P. HUMPHREY, D.D., LL.D., sometime Professor in the Danville Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 540. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

The late Dr. Humphrey was a devout scholar, an eloquent preacher, and a truly great man. In this noble volume, completed shortly before he died, he gathered the richest results of his deep religious experience and of a long life devoted to the study of Holy Scripture. In a style characterized by forcible expression and graceful diction, his book discusses, in thirty-five chapters, the principal events of the biblical record from the creation to the giving of the law at Horeb. He narrates, elucidates, and explains those events, keeping in view the objections of modern Rationalists to their supernatural features, and of Scientists who question their harmony with their alleged discoveries. In his expositions he gives the results of his own profound critical studies without being formally exegetical. He frankly admits difficulties where they exist, and offers such solutions of them as are satisfactory to Christian biblical scholars. He discusses, with breadth and fullness, the various topics taught and suggested by the sacred record, such as the Fall, the First Gospel, the Deluge, the Call of Abram, the Giving of the Covenant, Christ in the Covenant, the Ten Wonders in Egypt, Horeb and the Law, etc. Where theological questions are involved he makes the Westminster standards the touch-stone of his explorations. He has no leaning toward Arminianism. Yet, in spite of this defect, he presents the "entire field of sacred history" with much completeness to the reader's eye, rendering it lucid and beautiful by

means of the large amount of valuable information with which he illustrates its manifold parts. The thoughtful reader who does not add to his treasure by its perusal must be a very widely-read man.

An Explanatory Commentary on Esther. With four Appendices, consisting of the Second Targum translated from the Aramaic, with Notes, Mithra, the Winged Bulls of Persepolis, and Zoroaster. By Professor PAULUS CASSEL, D.D., Berlin, Author of the *Commentaries on Judges and Ruth*, in Lange's *Bibelwerk*. Translated by Rev. AARON BERNSTEIN, B D. 8vo, pp. 400. New York: Scribner & Welford.

This commentary is rich in materials gathered from ancient books, modern discoveries, the writings of travelers, philological science, and every other source of information likely to elucidate the instructive book of which it treats. Its translator justly applies to it the remark of Archdeacon Farrar: "When we study a great modern commentator we are, indeed, heirs of all the ages." In his exposition the learned author is topical, exegetical, critical, and practical. He neglects no part of the sacred narrative, but touches all its facts and illustrates them, not alone by his comments, but also by the light of their historical parallels. He thereby, as Dr. Bernstein without exaggeration says, gives us "an insight into ancient Oriental life, and especially Persian, as no other book of a similar kind does." His notes are also exceeding rich in historical, biographical, and critical remarks. Its style is nowhere heavy, but is clear, vigorous, and lively. We know of no better commentary on the Book of Esther than this scholarly work.

A New Rendering of the Hebrew Psalms into English Verse. With Notes Critical, Historical, and Biographical, including an Historical Sketch of the French, English, and Scotch Metrical Versions. By ABRAHAM COLES, M.D., LL.D., Author of *Dies Iræ*, in thirteen original Versions, etc. 12mo, pp. 296. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Keble, after completing his poetical translations of the Psalms, frankly confessed that in doing it he had attempted an *impossible* thing. Some twenty other poets have made the same attempt, failing, as Keble did, not to fairly interpret the Psalms or adapt them to Christian "Services of Song," but to produce an "ideally perfect" version of them in English. Dr. Coles does not claim that he has achieved this impossible thing. But he has certainly kept closely to the Hebrew original, and transferred the familiar phraseology of the received and revised versions into verse, which, if not always absolutely smooth and fluent, is yet free from that uncouth awkwardness one finds in the versions of Sternhold, Tate and Brady, etc. Dr. Coles is a remarkably graceful and scholarly writer, possessing rare poetical skill and a power of felicitous expression which give charm and beauty to his rendering; the tone of his verse is also eminently in keeping with the religious spirit of the Psalmist. His book must be accepted as a valuable addition to our devotional literature.

The First Book of Samuel. By Professor W. G. BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D., New College, Edinburgh. 8vo, pp. 440. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

This excellent book belongs to the series of expositions now in course of publication under the general title of "The Expositor's Bible." Dr. Blaikie had a fine subject in the first book of Samuel, and he has treated it most happily and skillfully. By grouping its minor facts around its most central events and principal characters, he has avoided the monotony which is almost unavoidable in treating a multitude of subordinate details. And he has so portrayed the moral grandeur of Samuel the prophet-judge, the unregulated strength of the vacillating Saul, the unselfishness of Jonathan, the ideal friend, and the great military qualities of David, the heroic and religious soldier-poet, as to excite the unflagging interest of his reader. His expositions of the sacred text pretty fully and clearly elucidate its meaning, and his practical applications of its truth are both suggestive to thinking minds and adapted to promote spiritual aspirations.

The Bible Doctrine of Inspiration Explained and Vindicated. By BASIL MANLY, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. 12mo, pp. 266. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

The key-note of this volume is, that "the whole Bible is truly God's word written by men." It regards the *mode* of inspiration as inexplicable, and rejects the mechanical and every other theory which denies the *special* operation of the Holy Spirit upon a human mind left free to express the divinely-given word in harmony with its idiosyncracies, yet without changing its import. It is clear and discriminating in its statements and strong in its proofs of the doctrine of inspiration. Its answers to the critical and moral objections of unbelievers are able and satisfactory, and it is sufficiently full, perhaps, to be, as its author intends, a competent text-book for theological students.

The Theology and the Theologians of Scotland, chiefly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Being one of the Cunningham Lectures. By JAMES WALKER, D.D. 12mo, pp. 203. New York: Scribner & Welford.

To Arminians the most interesting feature of this volume, aside from its historical value, is its exhibition of the vigorous struggles of old Scottish theologians with those objections to their supralapsarian creed which had their birth in their common sense and in their Christian consciousness. They would not surrender the creed; they could not answer the objections. Hence they invented manifold theories in their vain endeavors to harmonize their views of "divine sovereignty and electing grace" with their concepts of God, justice, and human freedom. These theories are very clearly stated by Dr. Walker. And they show that there has been a continuous mental revolt, even in Scotland, against the ultra type of Calvinism. Dr. Walker says, "There has been a change, though not in the doctrine yet in the philosophy of the doctrine;" but he does not attempt to show how Calvinist theology can stand on other than a necessitarian philosophy. Dr. Walker is an accomplished and able writer.

Manual of Biblical Archæology. By FRIEDRICH KEIL. With alterations and additions furnished by the author for the *English translation.* Translated from the German (chiefly) by Rev. PETER CHRISTIE. Edited by the Rev. FREDERICK CROMBIE, D.D. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 482. New York: Scribner & Welford.

This is a translation of the first volume of a new and improved edition of Dr. Keil's learned work. It contains the author's "alterations and additions," which he inserted for the purpose of bringing it up to the present state of knowledge in this department. Hence, it may be accepted as a "standard treatise in scientific form on Biblical archæology." It is admitted to be a work containing an immense amount of information, with many valuable and independent criticisms of the best German writers on this subject. The second volume is in the hands of the translator.

The Mental Characteristics of the Lord Jesus Christ. By Rev. HENRY NORRIS BERNARD, M.A., LL.B. 12mo, pp. 314. New York: Thomas Whittaker. $1 50.

The title of this volume seems to indicate that it treats chiefly of our Lord's intellectual capacity and development. In reality his moral characteristics and his affections are its principal themes. And these are ably, devoutly, and beautifully described. The reader is helped to see his Lord in his teaching, in his temptations, in his depressions, in his hours of prayer, in his sufferings, and in his triumph over death. One cannot surrender his thoughts to Dr. Bernard's guidance without being brought into closer sympathy, deeper reverence, and warmer love for Him to whom he is indebted for his present peace and his hope of eternal felicity. His book is fitted to quicken one's faith in the ever-living Christ.

The Risen Christ the King of Men. By JAMES BALDWIN BROWN, B.A., Author of the *Divine Life in Man*, etc. 8vo, pp. 368. New York: Thomas Whittaker. $2.

This volume contains sixteen discourses of more than ordinary merit. The first two treat very lucidly of the deep spirituality required in the teachings of the Old Testament; the third shows that the doctrine of the resurrection is the solution of the mystery of man's existence and the key to the life of Christ. The fact of Christ's resurrection is next proved. Then we have a comprehensive view of the results of the resurrection of Christ on the development of humanity—"the risen Christ in the risen world." These sermons are characterized by uncommon breadth of suggestive and independent thought; by their lucid generalizations; by a strong, clear, and vigorous style; by a duly qualified enthusiasm; and by a profoundly evangelical spirit.

The Best Bread, and other Sermons. Preached in 1887. By C. H. SPURGEON, of London. 12mo, pp. 393. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

We have here seventeen discourses on practical and experimental godliness, full of pith, life, suggestiveness, quaint allusions, and spiritual vigor.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

A Study of Religion: Its Sources and Contents. By JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D., LL.D. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 417, 410. New York: Macmillan & Co. $6.

Dr. Martineau is, if not *facile princeps*, yet a leader among liberal religious thinkers. In these volumes, as in his preceding works, he shows himself to be a close thinker, a scholar widely and familiarly acquainted with the works of both ancient and modern philosophers, and a brilliantly intellectual writer, acutely analytical, and fertile in rich illustrations. Though not strictly orthodox in his views of inspiration he is reverent in writing of the "Divine Mind and Will ruling the universe and holding moral relations with mankind;" belief in whom constitutes the "religion" which is the subject of this "study."

"The innermost seat of this belief" he seeks "in the constitution of human nature." In pursuing this object he first considers the "Limits of Human Intelligence." Under this head he discusses the "Form and Conditions of Knowledge," Kant's Critical Philosophy, Absolute and Empirical Idealism, and the Relativity of Knowledge, finally reaching the conclusion that "what is inevitably thought is in accord with what really is; and that Intelligence is not the mere creator of a dream."

In his second book he discusses "Theism;" and, after considering "God as Cause," finds, as a result, that the principle of Causality justifies the conclusion that there is "one universal Cause, the infinite and eternal seat of all Power, an omniscient Mind ordering all things for ends selected with perfect wisdom." He then proceeds to treat of "God as Perfection." Here he makes the human conscience—man's ethical intuitions—the interpreters of the divine character by which he proceeds from "self-knowledge to divine knowledge." Guided by conscience men discover their affinity with a supreme omnipresent righteousness, and learn that the predicates of the principle of causality and of conscience "meet in one Being perfect alike in thought and holiness."

In his third "Book" Dr. Martineau treats of Pantheism as a reaction from Deism; also of Determinism or Necessarianism, and of Free Will. He reasons conclusively against the former, and demonstrates the latter with much logical force. He is, indeed, an ultra Libertarian, in that he supposes God "cannot read all volitions that are to be," inasmuch as he has limited himself by refraining from covering all human volitions with his omniscience. He chose to render some knowledge conditional for the sake of making any righteousness attainable by man. But our author maintains this opinion on purely philosophical grounds, and concedes that it is inadmissible on theological principles.

In his final chapter Dr. Martineau writes of the "Life to Come." He infers human immortality from two facts, 1. That *every-where*—in our conscience, in our physical nature, in the sentiments of associated men—there are marks of a morally constituted world moving toward righteous ends. 2. That *nowhere*, within us or without us, do we find the fulfill-

ment of this idea. Therefore, being only an "unfinished system, it irresistibly suggests a justifying and perfect sequel." And the vaticinations of our moral, intellectual, and spiritual natures "report to us that we stand in divine relations which indefinitely transcend the limits of our earthly years."

On the whole, it may be said that this "study" is a splendid piece of purely intellectual work—a refreshing mental tonic. Its reasonings contain antidotes both to the abstractions of idealism and the fallacies of sensationalism. It also lends more support to the orthodox view of inspiration than its author probably intended, because it grounds so many truths on merely natural facts that are in strict harmony with the teaching of the inspired word. In fact, one can scarcely resist a conviction that our philosopher is more indebted to the light of Bible inspiration for his insight into the deeper meanings of nature than he himself recognized. Hence, the Christian thinker, while gladly accepting many of the conclusions of these charming volumes, will still rejoice that he can found his belief not on philosophy alone, but also and chiefly on the solid rock of God's infallible words.

Philosophy and Religion. A Series of Addresses, Essays, and Sermons designed to set forth great truths in popular form. By AUGUSTUS HOPKINS STRONG, D.D., President and Professor of Biblical Theology in the Rochester Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 632. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. $3 50.

Dr. Strong is a very able writer. In this noble volume he has collected many of his previously printed sermons and essays, with others which here appear in print for the first time. It discusses a wide range of topics which occupy conspicuous places in modern thought. Among its strictly literary papers we find "Poetry and Robert Browning," "Dante and the Divine Comedy," etc.; among its theological essays we note "Modified Calvinism," "The New Theology," "The Method of Inspiration," etc. On scientific subjects there are essays on "Science and Religion," "The Philosophy of Evolution," "Modern Idealism," etc. Besides these we have "The Education of Woman," "Remarriage after Divorce," "Christianity and Political Economy," etc. These, with other living questions, are not treated superficially, but comprehensively and thoughtfully. Much, perhaps most, of its contents we admire and can cordially approve, but from "Modified Calvinism" and "Will in Theology," as here presented, we must strongly dissent. As a matter of fact, the root-principles of Calvinism, despite the strenuous denials of its advocates, implicitly make God the responsible author of human sin, and refuse real freedom to the human will. Dr. Strong, in his attempted modification of it, vainly seeks to rid it of this terrible logical burden. But, like original sin, it is an inherent quality of the theory, and cannot be "modified" out of it. To Arminians, who desire to see Calvinism made as presentable to a modern religious thinker as much learning, ingenious logic, and skillful logomachy can make it, this volume, though far from convincing, is yet interesting. Apart from its theology, however, it contains much that is

intrinsically valuable to theological students, and also to general readers who "love books that are books." To much of the pseudo science of the day it is also an effective antidote.

Introduction to the Study of Philosophy. By J. H. W. STRICKENBERG, D.D. 8vo. pp. 422. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

In these times of much discussion of philosophical questions, no young man or woman who wishes to keep abreast of the thought of this age can afford to be without at least a general acquaintance with the ideas and systems of the most distinguished teachers of philosophy. But in forming that acquaintance one needs the guidance of teachers who are both masters of philosophic thought and in sympathy with revealed religion. One's teachers must be, not Rationalistic but Christian, philosophers. The author of this excellent volume appears to be such a teacher. His theory is, that philosophy and religion, though starting from the stand-points of faith and reason, may find their point of co-operation in the union of "a believing reason" with "a rational faith." Reason must not ignore faith: faith must not ignore reason: albeit the peculiarities of each must be distinguished. Much of belief lies outside the sphere of philosophy; religion is far from including the whole domain of faith. Religion has objects which reason alone could never have discovered—objects beyond the sphere of demonstration. Philosophy also deals with subjects foreign, though not essentially hostile, to religion. Writing in the light of these principles Dr. Strickenberg defines philosophy, explains its relations to religion, to natural science, and to empirical psychology. He also treats of noetics, metaphysics, ethics, and of the spirit and the method in the study of philosophy. His treatment of these themes is scholarly, able, sufficiently profound for its purpose, luminous, independent, and discriminative. To students his book is eminently instructive; to those already well read in philosophy it will be found helpful as a review of partially forgotten studies.

The Religious Aspect of Evolution. By JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., Lit.D. 8vo, pp. 109. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This volume contains two lectures read before the trustees of the Bedell Fund at Kenyon College, Ohio. In them the venerable doctor affirms his belief in the principle of evolution, because he finds scientific evidence of its presence in nature. But he sees in it not a merely natural force, but only a means by which the Creator executes his plans. In developing this idea he yields to the evolutionist all that ascertained natural facts can reasonably claim, but insists that no explanation of the processes of nature that exclude God from them can satisfy the reason. And he recognizes in the evolutionary principle the working of a divine force pointing to a culmination which shall include a new heaven, a new earth, and a final victory of the kingdom of Christ over the evils of the ages.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Ancient World and Christianity. By E. DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D., Author of *The Early Years of Christianity*, etc. Translated by ANNIE HARWOOD HOLMDEN. 8vo, pp. 479. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

In this important volume Dr. Pressensé may be said to have furnished a digest of the historical facts which justify Paul's assertion, that the ancient heathen world possessed sufficient knowledge of God and of human duty to guide it to higher religious and moral conceptions than were embodied in its idol worship and in its shamefully-immoral practices. His portraitures, giving the salient features of the religions of Chaldea, Egypt, Phœnicia, the primitive Aryans, of Zoroaster, of the Vedas, of Buddha, of Hellenic Paganism, including the Greek Philosophy, and of Græco-Roman Paganism, all go to prove that the light of Nature everywhere showed men more or less of "the eternal power and Godhead," produced a limited development of their moral consciousness, and begot in them a cry for a more satisfactory knowledge of the "unknown God," an aspiration after immortal life, and a craving for power to achieve the good which they but dimly perceived and failed to grasp. Their refusal to be led by these voices of Nature was the cause of their corruption. But the harmony of Christ's teaching with those voices points to the divine origin of both. What the latter obscurely taught Christ confirmed, explained, and supplemented. He brought their dim conception of immortality into the brightness of heaven's own light. By his precepts he illuminated and quickened the natural conscience, thereby endowing it with new power. By his beautiful and self-sacrificing character he gave mankind a new, a sublime, and an attractive conception of the Great Supreme. By his propitiation for human sin he satisfied the agonizing cry of the guilty heart for a means by which its guilt could be forgiven and its filthiness washed away. This relation of Christ to the needs of mankind, as felt in the pagan world, proves, as Dr. Pressensé ably shows, that Christianity was "the actual fulfillment of the work of divine love, bringing to mankind the very thing which for long ages it had been vainly striving and seeking after." Students of comparative religions, and clergymen who desire well-digested historical facts with which to meet the charge that Christianity has borrowed much of its teaching from the religions of the world, will find this work very helpful.

Palestine in the Time of Christ. By EDMOND STAPFER, D.D., Professor in the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris. Translated by ANNIE HARWOOD HOLMDEN. Third Edition. With Maps and Plans. 8vo, pp. 527. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

To give the reader an intelligent conception of the Holy Land as it was when Jesus lived is the purpose of this very interesting volume. Guided by books of recognized authority, its author describes the geography of the country, its kings, sanhedrin, population, home and public life, social habits in city and country, literature, and religious life. In the latter he

includes the Jewish sects, with their peculiar beliefs, doctors of the law, schools, philosophy, worship in synagogue and temple, ceremonies and feasts. He also fixes the principal dates in the life of Jesus, and views many of his acts in connection with their localities and with the opinions of the Jewish people. His facts have been diligently gathered and carefully collated from the most distinguished Jewish, French, German and English writers, and cast a strong light on the gospel histories. Dr. Stapfer regards Jesus himself as greater than his teaching. "His entire life," he says, "is a miracle." Every Bible student will highly appreciate this volume.

A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. By HENRY CHARLES LEA. Vol. III. 8vo, pp. 736. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This noble volume completes Mr. Lea's learned and admirable history. It treats of such "special fields of inquisitorial activity" as the spiritual Franciscans, the Fraticelli, political heresy, sorcery and occult arts, witchcraft, intellect and faith, etc. Its concluding chapter, in calmly summing up the moral results of the Inquisition, justly says:

> Uniformity of faith had been enforced by the Inquisition and its methods, and so long as faith was preserved crime and sin were comparatively unimportant, except as a source of revenue to those who sold absolution. . . . The moral condition of the laity was unutterably depraved. . . . The Inquisition was the monstrous offspring of mistaken zeal, utilized by selfish greed and lust of power to smother the higher aspirations of humanity and stimulate its baser appetites.

No one, after reading the facts which make up this history, can reasonably claim that these conclusions are exaggerations. Neither can the Papal Church truthfully affirm that the terrible record is made up of "Protestant lies," inasmuch as it is chiefly derived from Roman Catholic authorities. Thus by its own mouth the Papal Church of the past stands hopelessly condemned, and despite its reckless habit of falsifying history, of trying to wash its spotted garments in falsehood, it must bear the terrible burden of the guilt it incurred by making itself the oppressor of the nations, whom, had it been other than antichrist, it might have enlightened and blessed. Mr. Lea certainly deserves the thanks of the Protestant world for producing these learned, judicious, attractive, and valuable volumes.

The Story of the Goths from the Earliest Times to the End of the Gothic Dominion in Spain. By HENRY BRADLEY. 12mo, pp. 376. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, $1 50.

This volume is one of a series of historical studies designed to present in graphic style the stories of the prominent nations which have played their several parts in the great drama of humanity. The story of the Goths is less familiar, because hitherto less fully and distinctly told, than that of many other peoples. Yet though now "a vanished nation," they once played no feeble part in the great movement of the barbarian tribes which overthrew the decaying Roman Empire and prepared the way for the better civilization which sprang from its ruins. Who these

rude people were, whence they came, whither they wandered, what they accomplished, and why they finally vanished as a nation, are questions satisfactorily answered by Mr. Bradley in this very excellent book. Without pretending that his history is strictly original and exhaustive this writer claims, with justice, to have put into it the marrow of the best authorities who have treated of that once mighty people. He has assuredly produced a work that is very entertaining, attractive in its style, and valuable for its facts.

The Invasion of the Crimea: Its Origin and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan. By ALEXANDER WILLIAM KINGLAKE. Vol. VI. 12mo, pp. 284. New York: Harper & Brothers.

In this volume Mr. Kinglake brings his most admirable history of the siege of Sebastopol to a close. Most of his readers will regret that his plan did not permit him to carry his history down to the capture of that formidable fortress, but only to the death of Lord Raglan, the commander of the British forces. Hence, though when viewed as a record of that distinguished general's part in the great siege it is a completed history, it is yet an unfinished record of the siege itself. It is, however, a very remarkable specimen of military history, graphic in description, spirited in its relation of not only the most serious struggles in the conflict, but also of minor details and incidents which had important bearings on the issue of the siege. Mr. Kinglake has aimed to be accurate in his statements and fair in his judgments. He has nowhere strained after effects, but has left facts to produce their own impression on the reader's mind. His work is, and must continue to be, the standard history of the invasion of the Crimea.

The United States of Yesterday and of To-Morrow. By WILLIAM BARROWS, D.D., Author of *Twelve Nights in the Hunter's Camp*, etc. 12mo., pp. 432. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

This is a book of startling historic and existing facts concerning the land in which we live. The vast extent of our country, its surprising distances, its wonderful growth, its vast stretches of farming lands, its wild western life, its educational methods, its amazing railway systems, and its probable future are the topics it discusses and elucidates. Dr. Barrows is no inventor of facts, but a conscientious gatherer of them. He is skilled in the art of generalization. His reasonings are from what is to what probably will be in the future, and, though sanguine, he is not extravagant. No American can read his book without a feeling of astonishment at the present prospective greatness of his land and nation.

The Life of George Washington, Studied Anew. By EDWARD EVERETT HALE, Author of *A Man Without a Country*, etc. Square 8vo, pp. 392. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This volume belongs to the "Boys and Girls' Library of American Biography." Mr. Hale, in writing it, made free use of materials which Washington's previous biographers did not closely study. They studied

their hero in the light of public documents: Mr. Hale, while not disregarding these sources of information, presents him as he appears in his copious diaries, and in his private correspondence. The "father of his country" does not suffer by being thus studied, but stands out in Mr. Hale's bright pages "as the finest instance in history of the success of moral power;" and, says Mr. Hale, "men agree to honor Washington because, in his life, they think they have a demonstration that right is might." The wide circulation of this book among the youth of the country would benefit them, and tend to form in the rising generation just such characters as are the need of the republic.

Some Remarkable Women. A Book for Young Ladies. By DANIEL WISE, D.D., Author of *Men of Renown*, *Story of a Wonderful Life*, etc. 12mo, pp. 245. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1.

This volume contains "Introductory Words to Young Women, and Sketches of: 1. The Brontë Sisters, whose lives illustrated the triumph of woman's genius over formidable difficulties. 2. Hannah Adams, the first American woman who made literature a profession. 3. Elizabeth Prentiss, a successful writer of books and an earnest Christian worker. 4. Sister Dora, a self-sacrificing hospital nurse. 5. Mary Lamb, a remarkable example of sisterly affection. 6. Frances Ridley Havergal, a writer of Christian hymns. 7. Felicia Hemans, one of the most accomplished poets of her time. 8. The two Grimké Sisters, showing woman's unselfish devotion to philanthropic work. 9. Caroline Herschel, the astronomical discoverer. The aim of the volume, as stated in its Introduction, is "to encourage woman to accept the highest and noblest views of life."

A Short History of the English People. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, with Maps and Tables. New edition thoroughly revised. 8vo, pp. 872. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Hume, Lingard, Mackintosh, Macaulay, etc., hold high rank as English historians, but as the historian of the English *people* Mr. Green outranks them all. Even Mackintosh did not grasp the true philosophy of history as completely as did Mr. Green, who saw with the insight of genius that the development of a *nation*, to be clearly understood, must be studied not so much in the deeds of its kings, or in its laws and forms of government, as in the unfolding of the life of its people—in the story of the men and women who made the nation. Thus written history possesses a stronger fascination than romance, as every intelligent reader will feel who attentively reads either this "Short History" or Mr. Green's larger "History of the English People." In this attractive volume the style, though wondrously condensed, is yet graphic and forcible; its descriptions are picturesque, and its analysis of character acute and full. But its most valuable feature is its method of showing concrete facts to be evolutions of the life and character of the people themselves. Hence whoever masters this "Short History" holds the key to the real history and prog-

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The Church and the Eastern Empire. By Rev. HENRY FANSHAWE TOZER. Small 8vo, pp. 198. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. Price, 80 cents.

This, though a small, is by no means a superficial volume. It is a carefully-prepared digest of the history of the Byzantine Empire, written with the purpose of bringing into view the influence of the Church on the social and religious life of that great empire. Its author has evidently studied his subject very thoroughly, and his work contains much that is of importance, not only to students of general history, but also to those who are especially interested in tracing the relations of Christianity to the development of the kingdoms evolved from the old Roman Empire.

POLITICS, LAW, AND GENERAL MORALS.

Principles and Practice of Morality; or, Ethical Principles Discussed and Applied. By EZEKIEL GILMAN ROBINSON, D.D., LL.D., President of Brown University. 12mo, pp. 252. Boston: Silver, Rogers & Co.

The disposition of men to divorce practical ethics from religion was perhaps never more distinctly marked than it is to-day, especially in the customs of the business world. For this, if for no higher reason, one may hail with pleasure the publication of this scholarly book, in which Dr. Robinson discusses with rare ability, nice discrimination, and philosophical breadth the fundamental principles of "Theoretic Morality" and the duties of "Practical Morality." In doing this he treats ethics as a science, aiming to classify acts as right or wrong, and as a philosophy seeking to determine the moral principles which should regulate human conduct. In searching for the ultimate ground of moral obligation he critically examines utilitarianism, intuitionism, the theory of the supreme will, etc., and not finding it without qualification in either of these theories he concludes that it is in the eternal moral nature of God as manifested in the moral consciousness of men and in holy writ. Regarded as a text-book one can scarcely speak too favorably of this volume. It is admirably suited, both as to style and method of treatment, to impart to college students a clear and comprehensive understanding of ethical principles and duties.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Book of Genesis. By MARCUS DODS, D.D., Author of *Israel, Iron Age*, etc. 8vo, pp. 445. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. $1 50.

In this book we have a capital specimen of expository writing. Though not critical and exegetical in form, it is manifestly based on a thorough acquaintance with the results of exegetical study. Hence it very clearly brings out the meaning of the book it expounds, and is characterized by weighty, pertinent, practical remarks. It is the third issue of *The Expositor's Bible* now in course of publication, and while it has value to clergymen because of its suggestiveness, it is also well adapted to the needs of all who love to gather honey from the pages of Holy Writ.

Family Living on $500 a Year. A Daily Reference Book for Young and Inexperienced Housewives. By JULIET CORSON, Author of *Fifteen and Twenty-Five Cent Dinners*, etc. 12mo, pp. 437. New York: Harper & Brothers.

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My Sermon-Notes. A Selection from Outlines of Discourses delivered at the Metropolitan Tabernacle. By C. H. SPURGEON. From Romans to Revelation. 12mo, pp. 405. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

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Paulus, His Rise, His Greatness, and His Fall. By WALTER BESANT. 8vo, pp. 168. New York: Harper & Brothers.

In this somewhat fantastic story Mr. Besant illustrates the charlatanism, the deception, the illusiveness, and the folly of spiritualism, mesmerism, etc.

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These eight stories from the charming pen of Mrs. Barr will yield delight and profit to readers of all ages. They are characterized by tenderness of feeling, and teach some very sweet life-lessons.

Marzio's Crucifix. By F. MARION CRAWFORD. New York: Macmillan & Co. Paper covers, 50 cents.

In this interesting story we have a vivid picture of the fruits of socialistic ideas when accepted by an Italian of the middle class, which Marzio represents. It is a readable story, albeit it is not one of Mr. Crawford's best.

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A series of select passages in prose and verse admirably suited to serve as food with which to feed serious reflections during a sea voyage.

Whatever Is, Was. By GEORGE A. YOUNG. 8vo, pp. 481. New York: Leggat Brothers.

This book is, in its way, a literary curiosity. It has much to say about the opinions of modern naturalists, but its author writes so grotesquely, and is so lacking in the art of putting things, that one is puzzled to know precisely what his own views are, albeit he either is, or affects to be, as the title of his book imports, a believer in the eternity of matter.

Father Fervent. By JOHN BAMFORD, Author of *Elias Power, of Ease-in-Zion, John Conscience, of Kingseal.* 16mo, pp. 173. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 80 cents.

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Mr. Alden is a humorist. In this burlesque sketch of an imaginary grandson of Robinson Crusoe and his companion he keeps his readers amused, and, by implication, illustrates the stupidity of ultra-conservative men who adhere to old usages because they were practiced by their grandfathers.

Father Solon; or, The Helper Helped. By Rev. DE LOS LULL. 12mo, pp. 367. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. $1 50.

This is a didactic story. It teaches many valuable life-lessons and portrays several unique characters, whom the author places in some exciting situations, which are quite powerfully drawn. Its effect as a story is considerably weakened by the fact that its conversations are, if not stilted, yet stiff, and its personages often preach where they should talk. Nevertheless, it may be read with profit.

Young Folks' Nature Studies. By VIRGINIA C. PHŒBUS. 12mo, pp. 258. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1.

The author of this book merits the thanks of parents and teachers who feel the need of books which make the attainment of knowledge a delight. In its pages we have the habits of those curious little people, the ants, described in a species of conversational story which is very lively and attractive. In the same style the history of a lump of coal is given, and then we have a charming talk about the fossils of the rocks. That lad or maiden who cannot be interested in this book must be a dullard indeed.

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(BIMONTHLY.)

J. W. MENDENHALL, D.D., LL.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

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ART. I.—EXPLANATION: A LOGICAL STUDY.

IN the world of pure thought a fact is said to be explained when we comprehend it as a necessity of reason, or as a rational implication of some other admitted truth. In the world of things this insight is rarely possible, and here explanation is rarely complete. But here, too, the human mind is not content to take facts as they come, or as it finds them, and it cannot rest until it has explained them. This explaining has various forms and stages. The aim of this paper is to consider them.

A good part of our explanation of things consists in referring the fact or event to a class or law. Thus we explain the fall or floating of bodies by reference to gravitation. Chemical changes are referred to affinity, electrical action to electricity, and magnetic phenomena to magnetism. Thus we gather our facts into classes, or refer them to laws which are themselves only facts of a more general nature, and when we have done this we count the facts to be explained.

Now what value has such explanation? It is plain that in all such cases we get no insight into the rationale of the fact. If a single fact be mysterious, we are no better off when we learn that the fact has been indefinitely reduplicated. If we are unable to tell how or why one atom attracts, we are not helped by being told that they all attract. The reference of a fact to a more general fact leaves the inner nature of both the particular fact and the general fact as opaque as ever. The sole value of this form of explanation is its logical convenience. It rescues the facts from their isolation, so that they are no

longer separate and lonely in our mental system, but are recognized as specimens of a kind or cases of a law. It also enables us to apply one term to many facts, thereby simplifying our classification. But this advantage is simply that of all logical classification. At the same time the facts themselves remain as separate and distinct as ever; for classification makes no identity and abolishes no difference.

This fact is often overlooked. The plurality and differences of the facts disappear in the unity and simplicity of the class term; and hence there often arises the fancy that the universal, or the law, reached represents the original from which the particular realities or events proceed. But this is only an echo of the ancient realism, a dead doctrine, indeed, but one whose ghost still haunts our science and logic. It is plain, however, that classification in no way changes the facts or reveals their essential source. If we gather all cows, sheep, horses, etc., under the general term animal, it is manifest that while we have united them by some common mark they each retain their distinctive peculiarities. It is equally plain that from the general term it is impossible to deduce any actual case. The general term has only a logical function, and represents no possible existence. It exists only as a mental symbol; while the objects which it represents are a multitude of individual objects or events, each of which is what it is on its own account. The reality is not man but men, not motion but particular movements, not gravitation but a great number of mutually attracting elements. While, then, the universal is the logical symbol for this multitude, it can in no way be viewed as its ontological source or as its essential reality. In short, the classifying process is not to be viewed as the analogue of any thing whatever in reality, but only as a piece of subjective scaffolding whereby we reduce the manifold of experience to a portable form in the interests of cognition.

Of course, the mind has an interest in reducing the number of laws and classes to the fewest possible, as they serve as the symbols of reality. In forming them we have to overlook all the individual peculiarities of real things. These disappear in the monotony of the class notion. The inadequacy of the latter to express reality thus becomes all the more apparent, and in returning to reality again we have to take up all that

we before left out. But if we should succeed in reducing all objects to a common class, or all events to a common law, we should only have unified our conceptions without in any way modifying the facts. And what we gain is not a deeper insight, but a more convenient or extensive symbolization. We must, then, guard ourselves against mistaking the order of our classificatory thinking as expressing the existential order of reality.

This fact is pretty well recognized nowadays when we are dealing with individual things, and especially when dealing with sense objects. Very few would hold the class notion to represent a real existence in the animal world, though in such notions as being and matter we have something of a survival of the ancient realism. This is much more pronounced when we come to deal with qualities and powers. Here there is still a strong tendency to mistake the universal as the real, and the actual as a case or modification of the same. Thus we tend to view the various colors as specifications of the common fact, color; and we insist that the several shades of this same color are to be regarded as modifications of a common quality. In the same way, from the various activities of a thing we form the conception of a force underlying them. This force, however, is conceived as the ground of all the activities without having the specific peculiarity of any of the individual cases, and then we view the cases as only manifestations of the one common force. But in all of these cases we fall into realism again, and mistake the movement of our classifying thought for the real order of existence. It is plain that there is no universal color; it is equally plain that there is no universal quality, and also no universal force. Every real quality must have a definite content and intensity which renders it perfectly individual. A red rose cannot be red in general; indeed, it cannot even be rose-red in general; it can be red only with its own individual shade and intensity of redness. Every actual force, again, must be perfectly definite in quantity, quality, and intensity. While in physics we often seem to attribute force in general to things, the complete expression of the thought always contains the implied limitations. For the real affirmation always takes the form of a law expressed as a hypothetical judgment. It says that if certain conditions are ful-

filled certain definite effects will follow, and when these conditions are all conceived the limitation is complete. Of course, in all objects which are united into a common class there must be certain elements of similarity; but the similarity is not to be viewed as their constitutive essence. We must be careful, then, not to identify the order of classification with the order of existence.

Most of all is this fact overlooked in psychology. Here the oversight complained of reigns supreme. Psychologists have greatly concerned themselves as to what faculty a given mental experience is to be referred, and also how many faculties are to be assumed. There has been a general aim to reduce mental principles to the fewest possible, and so all mental facts have been classified under a few simple heads, as knowing, feeling, and willing, and sometimes under a single head, as sensation; and there has been a very general assumption on the part of those engaged in this work that they were dealing with the nature of the mind itself, rather than classifying the mental facts. Hence each new simplification has been viewed as a triumph of analysis, and as pointing to a corresponding simplicity of the mental nature.

The illusion here is patent. The classification of mental states contains no doctrine concerning the soul itself, and gives no hint as to the genetic relations of the facts as existing. The simplification is for the understanding, and gives a convenient short-hand expression for the facts; but the facts as real arise in another way, and cannot be deduced from our classification. For instance, physical sensations are indeed sensations, but they cannot be derived from the general class sensation. Thus colors, sounds, odors, etc., are all sensations; at the same time they are incommensurable among themselves, and can in no way be referred to or deduced from a common root. But, through mistaking the class notion for the real essence, the fancy has become very general that the nature of the mind is revealed in the classification.

Because of this illusion, not a few psychologists have erred and strayed from the way like lost sheep. The question as to the number of faculties is purely one of classification, and its decision would add no insight into the reality. For referring a fact to a faculty is only a way of saying that the soul is able

to perform or experience the fact in question. A faculty is neither a thing nor an instrument; and so far as additional knowledge is concerned it is only the old *vis soporifica* or *dormitiva* over again. The question, therefore, whether the soul really has this or that faculty amounts to asking whether the soul is able to do or experience what it does. Again, the number of the faculties depends simply on the question whether the facts of experience form one class or more. If the latter, then the soul, as capable of one order of experience, would contain no provision for the other incommensurable ones; and we should have to think of the nature of the soul as corresponding in complexity to the complexity of the outcome. But in either case the facts, as actual experiences, with their specific quantitative and qualitative contents, find no explanation in the general faculty or faculties; because, as general, a faculty is only a class term, and even if real, it would contain no provision for the particular facts. As sensation explains no concrete sensations; as the sensibility contains no actual feeling; so the faculty in its generality accounts for no specific case. The fact in the mental life is the actual experiences. These have sundry elements of likeness whereby they may be grouped together for convenience of cognition; but they have also elements of difference; and these belong equally to their nature. The likeness in no way accounts for the facts; and least of all is it to be viewed as that out of which the facts are made. But under the influence of the classification the differences are ignored, and the likeness is erected into a fixed essence which constitutes or produces the facts. And when, by violence or otherwise, we have succeeded in reducing mental facts to a single class we fancy we have come upon the original element out of which the mental life is made. Often, too, the facts are forced into a class; and then the classification is used for their further distortion. This has been the case pre-eminently in ethics. The question of the faculty on which ethics depends has been much discussed. It has even been a burning question whether ethics is to be referred to the reason or the sensibility, whether it be founded on judgment or on feeling, in complete oversight of the fact that nothing can be altered or made something else by its classification. This oversight underlies most of the agnostic strivings of current psychology.

The same error is repeated in much of our evolution philosophy. Class terms are taken for realities and conjured with to the great profit of the dictionaries, and the great confusion of the neophytes. Omitting further criticism, however, we conclude that general terms, whether representing things, qualities, faculties, or powers, have only a mental existence and a logical function. While indispensable for mastering the manifold of experience, they are never to be mistaken for the reality, or for any thing more than a mental device. How the facts, whether things or events, come to be what they are can never be understood by consulting the order of classification. A classification from which we could deduce the actual must contain the actual, and must, of course, have all the complexity of the actual implicit in itself. Until class terms can be real in their generality, and until it is shown how the simplicity and indefiniteness of the class term can become the definite complexity of concrete cases, we are forbidden to identify the order of our classifying thought with the order of actual existence.

The value, then, of this first and simplest form of explanation consists not in any insight into the ontological nature or source of the facts, but only in its logical convenience. The facts are brought out of their isolation by being recognized as cases of a kind or law; but no light is thrown upon the nature and origin of the facts themselves. The fancy that we have more than this is an echo of the scholastic realism.

Another stage of explanation is when a fact is connected with its antecedents as the result of a law or laws. In the previous stage a fact is viewed as a case of a law; in this stage it is exhibited as the outcome of law. When we can trace the co-operation of several laws in a given effect we have a sense of insight which is peculiarly satisfactory. Thus the formation of the dew is the outcome of several laws, concerning the radiation of heat, specific heat, the condensation of water-vapor, etc. When we trace the fact to these laws, so that it is seen to be an outcome of the same under the circumstances, we view the effect as explained. This form of explanation is more satisfactory to the mind than the preceding one. The event no longer appears as an opaque fact, but as one whose origin can be traced and understood. When the antecedents are given we trace their consequent; and when the consequent is given we trace

their antecedents. In the former case we ask what consequents must result from the antecedents according to the known laws; in the latter we ask what the antecedents must have been to produce the actual consequents. But, whether we trace the antecedents to their consequents or infer the antecedents from their consequents, the essence of the explanation consists in connecting a fact or state of things with other facts or states of things according to known laws. Then we see how one state of things arises out of another state of things, and how a present state of things at once points to a past state of things and foretells a future state of things. From the present state of the solar system we read its past and forecast its future. From the present condition of the earth's crust we discern its past condition. In short, from any fact in a system of known law we may infer both its antecedents and its consequents.

This kind of explanation is independent of ontology. It has no call to enter into the metaphysics of causation, or the nature of essential being. It need not inquire how the laws which it recognizes are possible; it finds them given in experience, and traces their consequences. It deals with the world of experience. Among the co-existences and sequences of this world, it finds an order of law; and by means of this it seeks to unite the various states and factors of the system into a connected whole. Whatever our ontology, the phenomenal world and its laws remain the same; and so long as these remain, it will be desirable to trace the phenomenal order in both space and time. The law of gravity is not affected by our theory of gravity; and the law is all the astronomer cares to know.

This independence of ontological questions is one great attraction of this form of explanation. It permits us to be "positive," and furnishes a platform on which scientists of all philosophical schools, and even of none, may meet in peace and fruitful labor. The great practical value of science also lies in tracing these phenomenal laws. Thereby only do we gain control of nature and experience. In their enthusiasm for practical results, and their distrust of all ontological speculation, the Positivists have sought to restrict the mind to registering phenomena and tracing their laws. But nature is too strong even for the Positivists. This kind of explanation leaves much

unaccounted for. To begin with, it assumes the whole system of law and the realities to which the laws apply. Within the system it connects the various parts and the successive stages according to those laws, but it gives no hint of the origin or aim of the laws and system. These are taken for granted, and we are merely shown how facts and events are connected within the system. We see an order of doing, but we get no hint of the agent or the goal.

The previous type of explanation confines itself to phenomena without saying any thing of their causes. A third form of explanation aims to supply this lack by giving a theory of the causal realities which underlie phenomena. The attempt is made to infer from phenomena not only their phenomenal antecedents, but also their ontological grounds. In this way theories are built up concerning atoms, molecules, forces, and ethers; and these things are regarded as the ontological constants in cosmic change, and as the realities by whose interaction and combination the phenomenal world is to be explained. In such views the metaphysical tendencies of the mind are recognized, the categories of being and causation are imported into phenomena, and thus an air of solid reality is imparted to the whole.

Formally, this type of explanation is necessary to satisfy the mind. We cannot rest in the conception of groundless appearances, but must affirm causal reality somewhere. The place and nature of that reality, however, are not so easily determined. No reflection upon the facts of physical change will cast any light upon their cause until we come upon the order and combinations which suggest intelligence. That even the proximate cause of phenomena must be material and mechanical is a proposition wholly without proof. The current scientific theories in this field are not cogent logical deductions, but are only modifications of the spontaneous realism of common sense with added inconsistencies.

The general logical difficulty with all explanation by inferred causes is, that the causes are first inferred from the facts, and then the facts are inferred from the causes. The inference from the facts is offered as their explanation. There is real progress in such explanation only in the following cases: 1.) The mind may have such an insight into the possibilities

of the case as to form an exhaustive disjunctive judgment. Then we may show by analysis of the fact that we are shut up to one conception of its cause. 2.) The conclusions reached may admit of independent verification, or the theory may be found to embrace a great number of new facts. But when the inferred causes do not admit of being presented in experience or lie beyond the analogies of experience, and cannot be used for the extension of knowledge, the whole matter floats in the air, and the mind simply makes the motions of progress without really getting ahead. The facts to be explained are carried behind themselves, and this is the explanation.

Indeed, this unprogressive character attaches to every system of explanation by inferred causes of a mechanical nature. We infer *A* from *B*, and deduce *B* from *A*. We know that *A* was because *B* is; and we know that *B* must be because *A* was. Moreover, the *A* which we infer is not *A* in general, but a definite and specific *A*, which in principle includes *B;* and we deduce *B* from *A* only because we have already provided for *B* in *A*. If we do not provide for *B* in *A*, we cannot deduce *B* from *A;* and if we do make such provision we only draw out what we put in. In all inferences from effect to cause we are bound to determine our thought of the cause by the effect; and we can infer neither more nor less than the cause of just that effect. If we infer more we are guilty of an illicit process, and if we infer less we do not provide for the effect. If we infer that any other effect might have been produced, we either suppose a self-determining cause, which is contrary to the present supposition, or we deny the universality of law, and admit the notion of a groundless happening. Hence the cause we reach is one which must produce the effect in question to the exclusion of every other. In principle, then, it contains the effect, and no matter how far we push our thought we always carry the effect with us. If we seek to explain the solar system as the outcome of a nebulous condition of matter, we cannot do it by any and every nebula, but only by one with such an arrangement of parts, densities, velocities, etc., as made necessary the actual result. If we propose to trace life and history to the nebula we must indeed trace them to the nebula, that is, we must find them really latent in the nebula, so that whoever could have grasped all the circumstances of that

ancient nebula would have discerned human history in its minutest details. The nebula, then, was not merely a cloud of atoms in general, but a system with wonderful potencies which must pass into manifestation. At every stage of progress the system was not merely what it seemed, but more; and the advent of that more into explicit reality was always taking place. At no stage could the system be defined and exhausted by the phenomenal manifestations, but only by these plus the wonderful implications which were to be manifested later on. In such a scheme of thought we reach no bare and simple beginnings which were unrelated to their consequents, but we reach a state of things which made necessary and thus contained all later states of things. The explanation consists in making the facts potential in their causes, and the deduction of the facts consists in conceiving those potentialities as passing into realization. On such a theory the system can never reach any thing strictly new, or rise above itself; it can only unfold its own necessary implications. Whatever is, was; and nothing comes to pass which has not always been implicit in the system.

There has been a very general oversight of this fact in popular speculation. As a consequence we have had a swarm of cosmogonies which from very simple data propose to evolve the universe. The complex has been deduced from the simple, the heterogeneous from the homogeneous, the differentiated from the undifferentiated; and these labors have been viewed as among the supreme efforts of genius. In fact, they belong to the most *naïve* performances of the human mind. Given, a system implicitly containing all the complex forms of cosmic existence and under the necessity of producing the same, to explain the world and its contents. When the problem is thus presented the value of the explanation becomes manifest. Or, given, a series of indeterminate data, as matter and force, to explain the world and its contents, we having the right to determine the data in accordance with the facts to be explained. Here again the value of the explanation becomes manifest. There is no doubt that such an explanation is victoriously possible, and just as little doubt, even in popular thought, that it is worthless. Both the popular speculator and his disciples have assumed that it is possible to begin with simple forms of existence, so low as to excite no surprise and start

no teleological questions, and from these as data to deduce the higher forms of existence which have generally been supposed to point to an intellectual origin. Those low forms were supposed to express the essential ontological fact, and the higher forms were to be got out of them without being in any sense in them. Essentially, the aim was to draw conclusions which were not in the premises, and, in this sense, to get something out of nothing. The fatuity of the scheme was concealed by a variety of oversights. First, there was complete unconsciousness of the logical principle already dwelt upon, namely, that our conception of the inferred cause must be determined strictly in accordance with the effect, and that hence a conception of the cause which does not implicitly include the effect is inadequate, if not untrue. Secondly, the delusion was strengthened by the realistic illusion which sees in apparent matter a palpable and undeniable cause, and one, too, perfectly understood. When, then, a thing was referred to a material cause there was no need to define the cause by the effect, for we knew all about the cause already. It would be interesting and instructive to trace the curious seesaws which have arisen from conceiving matter, now as manifest and understood reality, and now as mysterious cause. Thirdly, the delusion rests upon mistaking the simplicity of class terms for a simplicity of real existence. The physical elements were united under the one term, matter, and the causal energies of the system were united under the one term, force; and sometimes both alike were subsumed under the homogeneous or the fundamental reality, etc. Having, then, only a few simple abstractions in which no ingenuity of analysis could discover any thing beyond themselves, it was easy to mistake them for reality, and to conclude that all complexity of existence had arisen out of their undifferentiated simplicity. But this was only an illogical fumbling with class terms, and had nothing to do with real existence. In ontological thinking in a necessary system logic can find its way neither from the many to the one nor from the one to the many; neither from the complex to the simple nor from the simple to the complex. Reasoning backward from plurality and complexity, they remain implicitly with us; and reasoning forward from unity and simplicity, we find it impossible to advance a single step. Finally, this unreal

simplicity of the class terms was made to seem real by mistaking simplicity for the senses for simplicity for reason. Accordingly, when we traced the cosmic order to some nebulous stage in which the present phenomenal forms were non-existent, we concluded that we had reached a true homogeneity and simplicity, and failed to see that, however simple and undifferentiated such a nebula might be for our senses, reason is bound to find implicit in it all that has ever come out. These oversights, so transparent and *naïve* to reflective thought, have been the chief source and support of our various evolutionary cosmogonies. All of the latter have sought to transform some bare elements of being into the complex forms of cosmic existence, yet without implicitly assuming those forms in the elements from which they sprang. The apparent success has been due to the mistakes dwelt upon.

This point has already been debated to rags, and yet so persistently has it been ignored that we may be allowed, even with the certainty of some repetition, to represent it in a slightly different form. Whenever we can give an exhaustive definition of a cause, we have only to inspect or analyze the definition to learn what such a cause can do. Thus, if we conceive the attributes of material things to be only extension, solidity, and inertia, whatever cannot be reduced to these forms must necessarily lie beyond any possible production by matter. If next we endow the elements with moving forces, we provide for movement and grouping, but nothing more; and whatever cannot be reduced to a movement or a grouping of the elements lies, by force of the definition, beyond the range of physical causation. If next we propose to bring life and thought within the sphere of matter, it can be only as we enlarge the notion of matter to include these new facts. Matter, as before conceived, is inadequate by definition; and it is only as we re-define it so as to include the desired outcome that it can be viewed as an adequate cause. Indeed, we do not get the adequate cause until we have carried all the special circumstances of space, time, equality, intensity, etc., into the proposed cause; that is, until we have defined the cause by the effect. All the effects of a cause with the definite nature A must lie within the sphere of A. Whenever we wish to refer other effects to it, we can do it only as along with A we conceive some other fac-

tor X, which is the real ground of the outlying effects. Here again it appears that there is no getting out of a cause something that was not at least implicitly in it.

But sometimes we are not able to define a cause, but only to point it out and name it. An object may be presented to us as real, and we may proceed to determine its nature and possibilities. How we shall think of the thing is the problem then to be solved. Manifestly, we must think of it in accordance with its outcome. If the thing as manifested to the senses contains no provision for the effects to be attributed to it, we have to distinguish between the appearance and the true nature of the thing to make the attribution permissible. Here, too, the cause has to be determined in accordance with the total effect. This would be generally admitted as an abstract statement, but it has been strangely overlooked in evolutionary speculation. Matter as given by the senses shows no trace of possessing causal activity. We distinguish, then, apparent bodies from the real matter which is proposed as the "mysterious cause" of phenomena. But in determining how we shall think of this "mysterious cause," the crude realism of the senses creeps back unperceived, and we define matter in terms of its apparent qualities. These seem quite unrelated to any thing beyond themselves and also quite able to stand alone. But as we have also learned to think of matter as "mysterious cause," we have no further trouble about causation, and no need for limiting its possibilities. Matter, finally, being essentially expressed in the sense-qualities referred to, it is manifest that matter as thus conceived is the adequate cause of all cosmic effects; and that, too, without having any essential relation to the effects. This unconscious shuffle between incompatible views has been prolific of advanced speculation.

The sum of the previous discussion is this: The mind seeks to gather its objects into classes and to subject them to laws. It also seeks to connect them together according to laws, so that we can see how one state of things implies and leads to another state of things, or how one state of things grows out of another state of things. This knowledge alone has practical value. By means of it we get a short-hand expression for the multiplicity of nature, and our knowledge of the laws enables us to subdue nature to our purposes. But the mind further aims to give

some account of the metaphysical causes at work throughout the various states and changes of things; and here it falls into uncertainty and confusion. The form of our sense-perceptions when the mind is unenlightened by criticism leads naturally to the attempt to construe these causes under a mechanical and material form. Of this attempt, even if successful, it must be said that it merely gives the form of causality and substantiality to the facts without leading to any thing simpler than themselves. The causes we reach are only potentializations of the facts; and if the facts demanded explanation, just as much do these causes demand explanation. None of these forms, nor all of them together, give final satisfaction to the mind; for, while single facts may be seen to be implications of other facts, the system of facts and laws is left opaque and meaningless. To escape this collapse the mind has recourse to a fourth and final form of explanation, that of purpose or final cause.

The mind is so little able to rest in the conception of purposeless activity that those who have been most active in excluding the conception of purpose from scientific thought have generally brought it in again under a more or less thin disguise. Nature has been freely endowed with aims, purposes, tendencies to progress, etc. These have, indeed, often been rhetorically used, but they were none the less necessary to express the doctrines of the speculator; so much so that if they were dropped out the doctrines would often become unintelligible. The mind demands the thought of a goal, an end toward which things are working. When this thought is given, our explanation is formally complete. We have learned what are the modes of cosmic procedure, and we have the thought of an end toward which things move.

The conception of ends or final causes has often been rejected, but generally from misunderstanding. Some have rejected it as implying that an effect can be its own cause. Others have rejected it as implying that the end as such is active, and that, too, before its own existence. Others again have identified the belief in ends with some particular and obsolete conception of their relation to the order of efficient causation, and have rejected it accordingly. Still others have identified it with some special view of the mode of production,

and hence would none of it. Finally, a great many have rejected it because of an assumed antinomy between ends and causes. If the causes of an effect explain it, we need nothing more to account for it; and the conception of ends is only the mind's own shadow thrown upon the order of efficient causation. That most of these grounds of objection are irrelevant is manifest. The belief in ends involves no theory whatever as to the order of production; it implies only that the activities of the efficient causes, whatever they may be, are determined with reference to the ends to be reached. The attempt to play off mechanical causation against this belief tacitly assumes, first, that mechanical causation is an undoubted fact; and, secondly, that, granting such causation, it affects the teleological problem. The first part of this assumption is an echo of crude realism, and overlooks the view which metaphysics makes highly probable, that all that we mean by mechanical causes is only the form under which cosmic intelligence realizes its purposes. The second part of the assumption depends on the fancy already examined, namely, that a mechanical system can produce effects which are not implicit in it, and which, therefore, need not be taken into account in determining our thought of the system. This mistake is due to thinking of the mechanism in terms of simple abstractions, as matter and force, from which all concrete determinations have been eliminated. But a little reflection shows that a mechanical order which is to explain effects can be only an incarnation of the facts to be explained; and hence, so far as teleological insight is concerned, it is only an elephant or tortoise under the earth.

But an explanation by ends is itself an incomplete thought. An end as such is not a cause, and has no real existence. As realized, it is an effect of causes, and cannot be made their cause in turn without manifest absurdity. But if ends are not causal, of what use are they in explaining effects? The only way out lies in conceiving these ends as purposes, or ideal conceptions, according to which an arranging intelligence determines the order of efficient causation, either in its own activities or in those of subordinate instruments. The idea of a locomotive determines the structure of a locomotive not as an efficient cause, but as a conception according to which the builder works. Without the conception of an intelligence

working according to a plan, explanation by ends vanishes because of the non-fulfillment of its conditions.

When the object of our explanation is the cosmos, some have sought to retain the conception of ends without the implied conception of a pre-conceiving and conscious intelligence, but they have only succeeded in verbally stating an unintelligible doctrine. An explanation of the cosmos by ends is possible only as we view the cosmic ends as purposes in a cosmic intelligence and as norms of activity for a cosmic will. By so doing we unite efficient and final causation in the one notion of the causality of will. To this view philosophy is gradually but surely coming. The notion of material or mechanical causation is itself a highly doubtful one. Sense observation finds no efficient causes, but only an order of phenomena. In any case the efficient causes of physical science are becoming more and more elusive. So far as we find them in experience they are seen to be only phenomena. Our customary thought about them is seen to be only an echo of the untenable realism of the senses. As far as we can penetrate we find law, order, system, and toil co-operant to an end, but the agent itself eludes us. Cause there must be, and it must be a cause adequate to the effect; and for the orderly and purpose-like effect intelligence and will are the only explanation. And this explanation takes up all lower forms into itself. From the orderly nature of intellect we should expect an order of law in its activity, and that not as a dumb fact, but as expressive at once of the nature of intelligence and of the way by which it realizes its aims. From the mental demand for unity and continuity we should also expect to find all things and evetns forming a system in which every thing conditions every other thing, and in which each new state of things grows out of a previous state of things, and in turn forms the ground for a future state of things. But this, too, would not be the outcome of some mechanical necessity, but would represent the unity of the cosmic plan and the constancy of the cosmic will. Explanation by intelligence, too, is the only one that ever comes to an end. In any necessary system we not only reach no condition of things simpler than the one we are trying to explain, but we are shut up to an infinite regress.

Any state of things we may reach refers us to a previous

state of things, and so on forever. In truth, there is no ultimate ground of things, nothing in which we may rest. Such ground can be found only in free intelligence. This is the only unity from which plurality can proceed. This is the only true beginning which speculation can find. All other beginnings are only points in the eternal flow where we stop, either arbitrarily or from weariness and confusion. In any case those beginnings have their own antecedents behind them on which they absolutely depend. Of course, we cannot tell how intelligence can be; we know, however, that intelligence is, and assuming intelligence as a first principle all else becomes luminous and interpretable. The order, the system, the plan, the goal, are immediate implications. On the other hand, we know just as little how the non-intelligent can be; and assuming non-intelligence as a first principle every thing is opaque and unintelligible. Nothing flows from it. It gives no insight, and at last we have to say, Things are not what they are, and that is the end of our knowledge.

The study of the laws and connections of phenomena alone does not fully satisfy the mind; we need also to consider things under the relation of means and ends. But, on the other hand, the latter study in no way dispenses with the former. Two things we aim to know: what things are for, and how they are brought about. Both are necessary to a comprehension of the system. Our knowledge in both fields is very imperfect. We know how some things are brought about without being able to tell what they are for; and we know what some things are for without knowing how they are brought about. And, what is still worse, in very many cases we neither know what things are for nor how they are brought about. Explanation, therefore, is a mental ideal which is only imperfectly realized. But by keeping its several forms or factors distinct, by recognizing their mutual compatibility and the necessity for all of them, and by persistent labor and patient thought in the service of cognition, we may hope gradually to transform the opaque data of experience into the transparent order of reason.

BORDEN P. BOWNE.

Art. II.—BYRON.

I.

George Gordon, Lord Byron, was a bad man. One hundred years have now passed since his birth; but this is probably still the verdict that rises first to the thought of most people at mention of his brilliant name. And it is to be feared that we must accept the verdict, not as the judgment of a strait-laced Puritanism, but as the deliberate sentence of posterity. For the charge against Byron is not merely that he sinned—sinned grievously and often. That is true of many a man in whom strong passions get the better of a feeble will, and a noble and generous nature struggles ineffectually with the temptations of life; yet such a man may often, in spite of all his lapses, call out our warmest sympathies, nay, even command our hearty admiration. Such a man, for instance, was Robert Burns; yet whose heart does not soften toward him? who dares to say, summarily, that Burns was a bad man? Nor is the charge against Byron merely that he transgressed the established laws of social morality and set at defiance our most sacred conventions. That, too, has been done sometimes by men whose lives were guided by sincere and earnest, though sadly mistaken, convictions—by men of pure thought, of benevolent impulse, of generous enthusiasm. Such a man, for instance, was Percy Bysshe Shelley; yet he would be most inconsiderate or uncharitable who should dare to say, summarily, that Shelley was a bad man. But Byron was neither generous, nor pure, nor true; on the contrary, he was selfish, licentious, false. His relations with his wife, with Jane Clermont, with Leigh Hunt, with Shelley, prove his cold and determined selfishness. To that selfishness, indeed, almost all who had any intimate relations with him were sacrificed sooner or later. His immoralities were not the occasional outbursts of strong appetites hardly controlled by a feeble will; for long periods of his life, in defiance of public opinion, of the counsels of his friends, of the promptings of his own better nature, he deliberately gave himself up to groveling and bestial excess. To secure his own interests he could stoop to deliberate falsehood, and he could save his own vanity at the cost of treachery to his

best friends—Shelley, for example—upon matters most gravely affecting their welfare and good name. No one knew Byron better, in Byron's best years, than Shelley did; no one was more ready to interpret his conduct generously; no one admired more heartily his great abilities: yet only about four months before his own death Shelley wrote in a letter, recently printed by Professor Dowden, "No sentiment of honor or justice restrains Lord Byron, I strongly suspect, from the basest insinuations." "As remorseless as he is unprincipled," was the short estimate of his character Mary Shelley had to give.

And if we say that Byron, though not a good man, was a great one, we must yet admit that at the very core of his nature lay two kindred weaknesses not often found with genuine greatness—vanity and insincerity. An uneasy self-consciousness marked him, from the days at Newstead to the days at Missolonghi. At times it took the shape of a foolish vanity, hardly compatible with inner dignity and manly self-respect. He was afraid his bad foot might be seen. He was afraid he might grow too fat. He sat to Thorwaldsen for his bust with a carefully made-up look of melancholy. "You needn't assume that look," said Thorwaldsen. "That is my expression," replied Byron. "Indeed!" said the sculptor, and he adds, "then I represented him as I wished." But when the bust was finished Byron declared, "It is not at all like me; my expression is more unhappy than that." He said to one of his friends, while recovering from an attack of fever, "How pale I look! I should like to die of consumption, because then the women would all say, 'See that poor Byron, how interesting he looks in dying.'" Such stories are trifles, to be sure, but they betray an essentially vulgar vanity, such as one cannot think of as belonging to any other great Englishman of letters. "A sublime coxcomb," says Hazlitt, tartly. Carlyle puts it in homelier phrase, "A big, sulky dandy." And it was only the other day that Mr. Stevenson—just now so good an exponent of English critical judgment—dared to apply to him that most unbearable of epithets, "a cad, and a cad of the first water."

As to his insincerity, it is hardly too much to say that the first half of his literary career was one long affectation. Declaiming for half his life-time against the shams of society and the cant of religion, he was all the time parading a melancholy

more than half affected, and bearing over Europe "the pageant of his bleeding heart." He was constantly despising and forsaking the world, and at the same time throwing himself passionately upon its sympathy, hungering eagerly for its applause. He celebrated his retirement to the solitudes of nature and the companionship of his own despairing thoughts in vigorous Spenserian stanzas that he knew Mr. Murray would give him thousands of pounds for, and all the world would read. The famous lines to his wife on their separation,

> "Fare thee well! and if forever,
> Still forever, fare thee well."

were written not for his wife but for the public, and printed in the corner of a newspaper where she saw them first; written, too, just at the time when the poet who penned

> "Fare thee well!—thus disunited,
> Torn from every nearer tie,
> Seared in heart, and lone, and blighted,
> More than this, I scarce can die!"

was solacing his lone and blighted heart with the too-liberal affections of Miss Jane Clermont. Now surely true greatness is not thus self-centered. It has human interests at heart; it has some nobler urgency, some greater thoughts, some wider sympathies, that leave no room for the invasion of such vulgar weakness and insincerity. Greatness is more earnest than this.

But it will be said that all this is irrelevant; that we are concerned, not with Byron's life or character, but solely with his work as a poet. Well, it is true that the business of the critic is with the book, not with the man; and it is true that we have no right to spy with idle curiosity into the details of any man's private life. But it is also true that no thorough and final judgment can be passed upon the work of any poet without some reference to that poet's life. The work of the statesman or the scientist may perhaps be estimated entirely apart from the life of the man; the work of the poet cannot be. It is always, to some extent, the embodiment of his own life. In its choice of subjects, its ideals, its predominant sentiment, its moral verdicts, the character of its author is inevitably revealed. And this, which is true of all poetry, is especially true of Byron's. His poetry, as every body knows, has no other hero

than Lord Byron; no other adventures than those which were suggested by the incidents of his own career. His whole work is only a portrait of himself as he was, or as he wanted men to think he was. The "Childe Harold" is a journal of his feelings that is mostly not true; and the "Don Juan" is a journal of his feelings that mostly is true. When a poet thrusts his own personality upon us so strenuously we may surely ask whether that personality is a healthy one, whether the emotions and sentiments in which it finds most characteristic expression are true, are noble, are beautiful—are those among which the highest art must always move. We surely have a right to ask whether this life set before us with so much power was lived nobly among men, and turned to any worthy ends. And, moreover, there was at least one vice of Bryon's character that told severely upon the purely artistic character of his work: his insincerity constantly turns his passion into declamation, and gives a cold and hollow resonance to many of his most energetic passages. Much even of his best work lacks something of the unconsciousness of truth, the simplicity of genuine feeling. To the last he never quite forgets to pose. And when once we have found him out, this affectation puts our sympathies on their guard; it is hard, sometimes, to give Byron credit for what *is* genuine in his work.

II.

It is certainly not worth while, at this late day, to dwell upon the oft-told story of Byron's life, save in so far as it explains—and in part excuses—the characteristic temper of his poetry. We must admit, in the first place, that Byron ought to be allowed all the excuse that can be given any man on the score of bad parentage and bad education. He was proud to trace his ancestry back to the Conquest; but the family blood had been very turbulent for centuries, and in some of his immediate predecessors had grown very rascally indeed. The great uncle of the poet, from whom he derived his title and estate, had been a profane and choleric man, who killed a neighbor in a duel, and spent the last ten years of his life shut up at Newstead Abbey in a mysterious retirement in which freaks of insane folly seem to have alternated with fits of insane frenzy. His neighbors credited him with all sorts of

atrocities, called him—rightly enough—"the mad Lord," and, averred that at his death a grim procession of black crickets went marching out of the house. The poet's own father was a worthless blackguard, with a fine face and figure, who ran away with the rich and silly wife of another man, married her after she had been divorced from her rightful husband, used up her money and killed her by his cruelty, and then looked about for another victim. His second wife, the poet's mother, he apparently intended to treat in the same way. He did very speedily get rid of her large fortune; but she proved not quite so easy to kill as her predecessor, and her passionate and hysterical temper made him deem it desirable to spend the rest of his career in France. The poor woman was as utterly unfit for the sacred duties of a mother as any woman could possibly be. The most charitable explanation of her changeful and violent moods is, that she was partially insane. She made it quite impossible that her son should entertain for her either affection or respect. "Your mother is a fool, Byron," said one of his school-mates. "I know it," was the grim reply. Thus the boy grew up to manhood in proud isolation and defiance, knowing nothing of the sweet amenities of home, with no wholesome parental influences to call out his love or to curb his passions.

We may perhaps add to the misfortunes of his boyhood the rather contemptuous repulse of his fifteen-year old passion for Mary Chaworth, though the romantic biographers have doubtless made something too much of that. Most men have survived such calamities in those green years between sixteen and twenty, when all our emotions seem so new and wonderful; and, though Byron was especially susceptible to attacks of this sort, and this one was doubtless very acute, it may be doubted whether the after effect was more than usually lasting. Of course he made the most possible use of it in his after verse; but we must not take too seriously all the plaints of Byron's bleeding heart. Much more unfortunate was the social position in which the young man found himself upon his first entry to the world. As he neared his majority, although he was a peer and proud as Lucifer, he was poor, and his family was in very bad odor. His father had died the death of a scoundrel in some sort of hiding over in France; his mother was eccentric, violent, and vulgar. Society didn't care to open its doors to a

young man of such doubtful connections. Nor did his own conduct much recommend him. At the university he had made a vulgar ostentation of his vices that better men viewed with indifference or contempt. In 1807 he published a thin volume of verses, being careful to remind the reader in the preface that the author bore a noble name and was not yet nineteen years of age. They had, in fact, nothing else to recommend them; being such rhymes as any young fellow carrying fairly good brains ought to be able to write at that age—and Jeffrey said so, rather tartly, in the *Edinburgh Review*. When, at the age of twenty-one, the young peer entered the House of Lords there was no one to introduce him or to notice him. He felt with bitter chagrin that he was a young peer whom nobody knew and nobody wanted to know. It is easy to see how this must have galled such a vanity as Byron's. Unknown, isolated, he consumed his soul in angry scorn of the world which was indifferent to his existence. He conceived himself a kind of outcast, and began to pose as a man of loneliness, mystery, and crime.

In 1809 he took revenge upon his rivals and critics in his first really literary work, the "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." This poem perhaps deserves more praise than the critics have given it. Its literary judgments are, indeed, arbitrary and perverse; Byron's critical opinions always were. Himself accounted a great master of passion and romance, he always professed to admire most the poetry of the classical school. Pope, he said, is our greatest poet. The most dashing and reckless of versifiers, riding rough-shod over all laws of meter and rhythm, he avowed unbounded admiration for the niceties of the artificial poetry, and declared the whole race of modern poets not worth one canto of the "Dunciad." Such verdicts are due in part, of course, to Byron's mere love of startling paradox; but his depreciation of contemporary poets arose, in the first instance, largely from his jealousy of them. We are always tempted to commend what our rivals condemn; and if Mr. Wordsworth's "Lyrical Ballads" and Mr. Scott's "Marmion" had been in the eighteenth century manner, it is safe to say that young Lord Byron would have found that manner far less perfect.

Three months after the issue of the "Bards and Reviewers"

Byron left England. Proud and restless, without friends or social recognition, he was perhaps half in earnest when he declared himself glad to get out of England and never careful to see it again.

Three years later, he was back again, however. He had been in Spain and the Levant. Stories of wildest intrigue and adventure during these years are probably only a part of the Byron myth; but they were years of restless vagabondage, in which he neither learned nor did many worthy things. On his return to Newstead Abbey he found his mother a few hours dead. Four or five of his companions had come to an early death. His estate was impoverished. Society, that didn't care for his going away, cared quite as little for his coming back. He had accepted no duties nor responsibilities; and the type of life he had seen is, indeed, hardly worth the living.

It was at this stage, in this mood, of Byron's life that the first two cantos of "Childe Harold" appeared, and he awoke that morning in February, 1812, to "find himself famous." The poem ran through four editions in seven weeks, and eclipsed for a time all other English writing, as a flight of fireworks may eclipse the steadfast stars. As one reads to-day those first cantos of "Childe Harold"—much the weakest cantos of the poem—and remembers what poetry Scott had just been writing, one is a little puzzled to account for this popularity. But it is evident that it was not so much the poetry as the poet that society found interesting. Personal confession always piques the curiosity; and here was a long, brilliant poem all personal confession. A delightful air of romance, mystery, and wickedness enveloped its author. He was a young Jacques, who, at the mature age of twenty-four, had drained to the dregs the pleasures of life, traveled from Dan to Beersheba to find it all barren, and now returned to his native shores a beautiful and despairing creature. In truth, Byron played Jacques very well; only he was rather young for the part, and inclined to overdo it. But it took vastly with the audience. Everybody knows what a sudden and brilliant reception was accorded Byron during the years 1812–15 by what called itself the best society of London. With an ease and force which we cannot help admiring, Byron followed the opening cantos of the "Childe Harold" by that series of eastern tales, the "Giaour,"

the "Corsair," "Lara," "Parisina," the "Siege of Corinth," in each of which the hero is a man of loneliness, wearing a superb melancholy, and haunted by some direful memory. And it rather pleased him to know that many people—especially women—believed those impossible creatures only reflections of himself. The cynical melancholy which had been more than half genuine when society was indifferent to him he found to be very effective now that society was idolizing him; and he gave society a very large dose of it.

The story of those years any body who cares for such things can read in Moore's life, and sundry other places. It isn't very instructive. Infinitude of the rubbish of drawing-room talk has accumulated about this society life of Byron; but there is scant record of any noble things by him said or done. Precisely one hundred years before, another man, a real cynic, already smitten deeply with a sense of the vanity and bitterness of life, was enjoying *his* little hour of lionizing in London society; but what a difference between the great Dr. Swift, undazzled by the glitter of his reception, filling his head and his hands with great schemes of public concern, stopping a war and governing a nation, and this little Lord Byron, writing "Giaours" and "Corsairs," and making love to other men's wives! In 1815, on the second asking, he got a wife of his own—without making any love to her. As to the lady, she certainly knew his reputation and married him with her eyes open. Lady Byron was a quiet, prudential person, not likely, one thinks, to have lost her head at any such offer as Byron made her; but not unnaturally flattered by it, and not without a generous hope that she might reform her husband and make him as exemplary as he was brilliant. Of course the marriage turned out ill; how ill, it is idle to inquire. One year after her wedding-day Lady Byron left her husband in London to make a visit to her parents in the country, intending that he should join her there in a short time. At that date she certainly did not expect a separation. Within a month she had learned something which convinced not only herself but her legal adviser that further life with Byron was impossible to her. What she learned nobody now living knows, and therefore nobody ever will know; we need not care. Correspondence published for the first time five years ago—in the

Athenæum during August, 1883—seems to make it certain that she did not at that time entertain any such odious suspicion against Byron as she is said to have charged him with at a later day, and that this could not, therefore, have been the cause of the separation. Here we may leave the matter. Byron, for his part, certainly did not behave handsomely. He paraded what he chose to call his injuries in the lines above referred to; in "The Dream," written in July of this year, he informed the world, in well-turned stanzas of despair, that on his marriage day his thoughts had been with Mary Chaworth, the love of his youth; and a little later, it would seem after an ineffectual attempt at reconciliation, he put into "Manfred" a passage of almost fiendish malignity which every one referred at once, as he knew they would, to Lady Byron.

But the separation of Byron from his wife banished him from London society. That society could bear any amount of immorality; it could not tolerate an impropriety. Two months after the separation he was in danger of being hissed at the theaters, and the "leaders of society" quietly cut him at Lady Jersey's ball. In April, 1816, he left England—never to return. This sudden ostracism was certainly due in part to mere cant and hypocrisy; and Byron knew it. It determined the bent of all his later work to satire. But to satire he was not yet quite ready to betake himself. He was unwilling to relinquish just yet the interesting attitude of melancholy. His grievances on leaving England this time were quite as real, perhaps, as they had been seven years before, and his bitterness rather more genuine. Yet he could not resist the temptation to parade his griefs, and to pose for the sympathy of the public. But in Venice he gradually tired of the affectations he had worn so long, both in his life and in his writings. There is much less of the old hollow, sentimental melancholy in the last canto of "Childe Harold;" and the "Manfred" and "Cain," though they contain much that is merely theatric, are pitched in a key of defiance and revolt which was much nearer Byron's genuine temper at that time. But it is in the "Beppo" that Byron's latest manner is first clearly seen. "Beppo" is a slight story, of no interest, it is to be hoped, to any human being; but in it Byron first opened that vein of reckless satire in which he wrote his latest, and I think we must say his

greatest, poem, "Don Juan." The real Byron is speaking at last.

His later life need not long detain us. In Venice it was simply bestial. For nearly two years he was a by-word, even in that sea-Sodom. Then, admonished by a fever that nearly snuffed out what life there was left in him, he drew himself out of Venice and resolved on a cleanlier course. He moved uneasily from Venice to Ravenna, from Ravenna to Pisa, from Pisa to Genoa, carrying with him his Countess Guiccioli—pulpy, languishing little Italian animal—and her two brothers, who had interested him somewhat in the schemes of the Carbonari for Italian independence. But he was restless and miserable. He cast many a look of angry regret at his ruined hopes. He knew that no son of his could ever wear his title. Prouder to his dying day of his rank than he was of any thing else, it was maddening to think there was hardly a noble family in London that would not shut its doors in his face should he dare to return. His literary popularity was said to be declining, and he began to fear that he had written himself out. There were, doubtless, some less vulgar pangs. The satiety which had been largely affected ten years before began to be real enough now; he was not altogether hardened to the smitings of conscience. There were in him cravings after some nobler work, at least after some new and healthier excitement. "If I live ten years longer," he wrote in 1822, "you will see that it is not all over with me. I don't mean in literature—for that is nothing; but you will see that I shall do something, the times and fortune permitting, that, like the cosmogony of the world, will puzzle the philosophers of all nations." It is the old hunger for notoriety, to be sure; but underneath that is some desire to redeem the waste of life. We need not think, then, that when the invitation came to join the Greeks in their struggle for independence that he accepted it merely out of vanity. Here was, at last, an opportunity for romantic and heroic sacrifice. Along with the restlessness of a troubled conscience and that fondness for melodramatic effects which he never got rid of, there went some desire to escape from his baser self, and to do some deed worthy a man. His hatred of convention, his love of personal independence, were fused in what seemed for a time a noble zeal for national liberty; and he had something of the

uplift of soul that comes from devotion to a worthy ideal. We may well remember that his last days were his best days; that in these days whatever of high and true was left in the man had largest scope in his thought; that he died in a noble cause, and his last words were of wife and child.

III.

To estimate the permanent literary value of Byron's work is not, perhaps, very easy. In his own life-time the critics and the crowd were agreed that Byron was the greatest of English living poets; and in 1830 Macaulay declared him the greatest Englishman of the nineteenth century. But it is doubtful whether any other English poet's fame ever suffered such a signal reversal within twenty-five years after his death. Before the middle of the century the Byron fever had quite passed by; and some of the young admirers of Carlyle and Tennyson, thirty years ago, were inclined to deny Lord Byron's work any high value whatever. Of late there are not wanting some signs that the ultimate place of his poetry will be a little higher than they were disposed to give it.

We must all admit, for one thing, that we cannot accord to Byron's poetry any moral quality. We must all say, as Carlyle said, "He never taught me any thing I didn't have to unlearn." Wordsworth once remarked of Scott's verse, rather unfairly, that it contained "nothing for the immortal part of man;" the remark would be far more true of Byron's work. No poetry is more barren of all ethical quality. Mr. Swinburne, who certainly will never be suspected of insisting over much on philosophic or ethical values, says: "Of man, to judge from his writings, Lord Byron knew nothing; of women, he knew that it was not difficult to wheedle those who were not unwilling to be wheedled. He also knew that excess of any kind entails a more or less violent and a more or less permanent reaction; and here his philosophy of life subsided into tittering or sniveling silence." This is somewhat too savagely set down, as is Mr. Swinburne's wont; but it comes dangerously near the truth. It is very difficult to see, therefore, why Mr. Matthew Arnold, who regarded poetry as a criticism of life, and declared, truly, that a poetry of revolt against moral ideas is a poetry of revolt against life, and a poetry of indifference to moral ideas is a

poetry of indifference to life, should, in another mood, avow Byron to be the greatest of modern poets save Wordsworth only. Byron's poetry *has* real elements of greatness; but if we are to measure it by Mr. Arnold's standard, the application of ideas to life, surely it is very lean poetry indeed.

Yet it is a fact that Byron scored a deeper mark in the public sentiment of the first half of this century than any of his contemporaries. In his own time this was principally due to the persistent power with which he kept before the public for years that ideal of gloomy pride and defiance which we have learned to call Byronic. What other attractions such poems as "The Corsair" or "Lara," could have had for intelligent readers it is hard to see. Their themes are simply beauty and butchery; their sentiment, that of the penny-dreadful. Their incident—well, let us here set down their argument in brief. The corsair is Conrad, the man of loveliness and mystery, of "one virtue linked with a thousand crimes;" beloved by Medora, who has nothing in particular to do but to love him—though that, one thinks, might be enough—and to sit up in a tower when he is gone away on his corsair business. Once, going to attack Seyd Pasha, Conrad gets worsted and taken prisoner, and this would have been the end of him had not a female slave of Seyd—or wife, it's all the same thing—named Gulnare, concluded that she liked Conrad the prisoner better than Seyd the Pasha, and so obligingly kills Seyd and makes off with Conrad. Conrad gets home and finds no light in Medora's tower as there ought to be, and goes in to discover her quite dead—whether it was presentiment or paralysis we are not told. Conrad withers up and goes away. In "Lara," however, he turns up again as a man of haunting mystery and gloom, whom no one knows any thing about. He is accompanied by a beautiful page, Kaled; and he performs prodigies of valor—for no reason in particular. He is a blighted person, evidently; walks through his solitary halls at midnight, and utters unutterable things with bated breath. At last he is killed—slain, rather—by Ezzelin, his mortal foe. Battle, blood, dash of waves, glimmering twilight of the dawn, with other accompaniments in keeping, and Kaled growing wild over the corpse of her master, her eyes glaring out upon us as the curtain drops. *Her* eyes—for, of course, Kaled was Gulnare, and Lara was Conrad.

Now this synopsis really does full justice to the characters and incident of the poems. All these impossible pirates of tender affections and lonely, self-communing habits, when you strip them of their rhetorical finery are only cheap actors on a cheap stage. They are absolutely barren of ideas; their sentiment is vulgar in the extreme; and even their passion is unreal. Byron does, indeed, describe them as alternately paling and flaming with passion; but we have to take his word for it, since *they* never utter a syllable in their own proper persons but it rings hollow and theatric. The verse has a certain swiftness and power rarely absent from Byron's work; but it is evident that the chief, almost the only, attraction of this whole series of early poems for the readers of their own day was the vivid presentation of a morbid personality which every one identified with Byron himself; that Byronic temper which made young gentlemen of poetic turn wear an open shirt-collar and practice a desperate air.

But this Byronic temper is not so simple a mood as it might seem. It was in part, doubtless, an affectation, mere fudge, having only a rhetorical value. It was partly, also, the restlessness of disappointed vanity; partly, the early satiety of jaded passion; partly, the strugglings of a much-abused conscience. In so far as it was made up merely of these elements, it had no permanent literary value. The gloomy complaint or defiance of a weary voluptuary has nothing essentially poetic in it: however finely phrased, it is really of the same quality as the grumbling of the old salt who cried out upon this hard world, where "You can't be drunk every day, and when you're sober you're sure to have a headache." But there is another and less purely personal element in this Byronic temper which goes far to account for its vitality and influence. It was, to a considerable extent, the expression of a deep-seated and almost universal unrest that marked the age. Byron wrote at a time when the first frenzied struggles for political liberty had spent themselves vainly in ignorance and blood; in the days of the Holy Alliance, when the forces of conservative reaction were uppermost all over Europe; when, in England, the discontent and misery consequent upon the readjustment of the industrial system were muttering beneath the surface of society and breaking out in weavers' riots and

Peterloo massacres; when the English government did not dare to lift a finger for the reform of a parliamentary system that, twenty-five years before, her best statesmen had pronounced rotten to the core; when the most scandalous living was cloaked under a decent religious conformity, and Tom Moore could write Byron, in the period of his worst Venetian excesses, to beware of Shelley's skeptical opinions; when the first society was probably the worst society England had seen since the days of Charles II., and "the first gentleman of England" was a mere rake and fop, with an empty head and a bad heart, who spent annually half a million pounds of the people's money on what he chose to call his pleasures. In such a condition of affairs there was underlying society an immense force of discontent, that took all forms from restless satiety in the highest classes to blind and angry revolt in the lowest classes. The revolutionary fires had been put out, for the time—in England, indeed, they fortunately had never burst into open blaze; but they were felt to be smoldering every-where still. Now this discontent and apprehension, in almost all its forms, finds some voice in Byron's poetry. The thin, sentimental vaporing of his early work was best fitted to the mood of those who had no very real grievance, but felt the inanity of their lives and got now and then a tremor from the heavings of the classes below them. But as years went on, and the affectations wore out of Byron, his tone changed to one of deeper revolt and defiance. In "Manfred," it is the imperious assertion of the individual against all restraint; the indomitable, rebellious will. The sublimest and most desolate forms of nature dilate, but cannot overwhelm the soul of Manfred; and he fronts the last mystery undaunted by all the spectral terrors that haunt his final moments. In the "Cain," which contains some of Byron's most characteristic work, he gives vigorous expression to his dissatisfaction with the easy orthodox teaching upon the great mystery of evil. The poem is not in the temper of bold arraignment or denial; it is rather the voice of a shifting skepticism, that chafed under the teachings of a theology which it dared not, after all, quite refuse. Byron has no belief, nor even any such genuine and aggressive disbelief as Shelley had; his poem is only a proud and angry protest against the injustice that sometimes seems ingrained in the very constitution of things.

It is easy enough to show that Byron's conception of the doctrine against which he revolted was very crude, and his skepticism of an unintelligent sort. The argument of the "Cain" may all be summed up in the old question of Robinson Crusoe's man Friday: why God didn't kill the devil, and have done with it. But the truth is, Byron had no creed, political or religious; no definitely formulated set of opinions on any subject whatever. He was not the typical English poet of revolution—the *doctrinaire* poet; that distinction—good or bad—must be reserved for Shelley. For, although Byron's poetry embodies whatever is destructive and anarchic in the movement, it has no constructive side. Byron has no faith, no hope, no love; Shelley, however mistaken their objects, has all three. His poetry has the symbols, the standards, the hopefulness of a definite and aggressive movement. There is in it the buoyancy, the forward look and striving that come of passionate devotion to an ideal, however visionary or even illusive that ideal may be. Shelley, furthermore, is openly at odds with all forcible restraints upon the individual will; hence, with all laws, which are only legalized restraints, and with all the institutions and distinctions that laws support. He will throw himself unreservedly upon the enthusiasm of a liberated humanity. But Byron held more closely to the facts of life, and found in them no warrant for such confidence. He had no faith in the new empire of light and reason. In politics, he never got beyond negations. He denounced tyranny and eulogized Washington; but he was aristocratic in his sympathies to the verge of snobbishness, and never cared much for the masses. His verse is full of loud praise of liberty; but liberty with Byron meant unbounded egoism, the obstinate independence of the individual. He never caught Shelley's nobler conception of a liberty which merges the purely selfish interests of the individual in some great ideal hope.

But yet it was largely because of these very limitations that Byron's poetry was so great a force. It is just because it was so purely negative, so entirely without dogmatic quality, that it seemed to people of such widely differing positions and beliefs like the echo of their own voice. For it is a sentiment, rather than a doctrine, that finds expression in Byron's verse; a sentiment largely blind, misdirected, and unhealthy, not under-

standing itself or knowing with any precision what it wanted; and yet a sentiment that arose naturally out of the condition of society in Byron's day, and was immensely powerful in shaping the future faith and government of Europe. Whoever looks beneath the surface of European politics in those years from 1812 to 1830 will find a certain restless vehemence which all the failures of the previous twenty-five years could not crush; an angry refusal of old faiths and forms, yet a distrust of futile enthusiasms for abstract ideas; a hunger for liberty, without any clear conception of the means to liberty; arrogant assertion of the individual, admiration for colossal power, without any sense of the value of a calm and ordered common-weal—in short, continual struggle without clear purpose or knowledge. And now is not this just what we find in Byron's poetry—the general temper of the whole of it? It was his work to render this tumult of sentiment with a breadth and vigor such as no other poet of the time attained. The hard materialism of his poetry, its thoroughly mundane character, made it all the more truly representative of his age. It is a picture of all the welter of that tempest-tossed time.

Of purely imaginative power, it is quite true that there is in most of Byron's work very little. The "Manfred" and "Cain," for example, are not great poems if measured by any imaginative standard. They are in the tone of the demagogue, rather than in the tone of the poet. Manfred is a kind of sophomore Faust. Cain is a sullen declaimer pretty well versed in eighteenth century skepticism; while Lucifer is a smirking "metaphysical devil," whom any old-school Scotch Presbyterian divine could easily have floored in argument. Such imagination as there is in the poems is seen in their descriptive passages — as the pictures of Alpine scenery in "Manfred," or that gloomy flight of Cain and Lucifer through the abysm of space, haunted by phantom shapes and sown thick with ruined worlds.

In one important particular Byron's divergence from the doctrinaire type of revolutionary sentiment was a great and lasting gain to his poetry—we mean in his historic feeling. Shelley, like the true revolutionist that he was, had broken utterly with the past. He hated history. He could lie day

after day among the gigantic ruins of Rome without one backward-looking thought, dreaming of some dim millennium in the future. But in Byron the historic sense was strong. He read little besides history. All the conflict and struggle of the past took deep hold upon him. Most readers of to-day know the fourth canto of "Childe Harold" better than they know any other portion of Byron's work. It is a kind of glorified guide-book for Italy. As one stands upon the Bridge of Sighs, in the Coliseum, before the Dying Gladiator, in the shadow of the tower of Cecilia Metella, it is Byron's line that springs first to memory. Perhaps this very fact implies a certain commonplaceness in the quality of Byron's emotion; but there is amplitude and sincerity in this utterance. To be thus recognized throughout Europe as the poet of Italy—the great past Italy that holds the memories of the world—this surely is no mean proof of power. And it is a true instinct that accords Byron this place. For his feeling in the presence of the august memorials of the past is very genuine. It was, indeed, almost the only type of serious feeling that survived through all the bitter mockery of his later days quite to the end of life.

Similar comment may be made upon Byron's poetry of nature. He is touched by bold and obvious effects, and especially by the historical associations of the scene. In his earlier work he professes a passion for solitary nature that was mostly affectation. Harold's declamation,

> "Where rose the mountains, there to him were friends,
> Where rolled the ocean, thereon was his home,"

and the rest of it, is only an attitude; Byron never retired into the solitary places. His temper was too restless and mundane for that. Whatever he might say or half believe, his thought and interest were with the loud and stately procession of human life. Yet even this affectation is characteristic of his age. It is a bit of that Rousseauish temper so widely current at the beginning of the century. Whosoever was vexed at the littleness of man or angry at the hardship of his own lot cried out, "Go to! Let us flee unto the wilderness." In varied forms this same sentiment may be seen in the writings of such widely different men as Cowper, Wordsworth, and Shelley, and Rousseau, Chateaubriand, and Senancour. It was a desire to obtain freer

scope for the individual. What the individual found in nature depended, of course, mostly on what he carried to her; Byron could find little but a reflection of his own unrest and longing. Consequently, it is seldom that he pauses long on any scene where the charm of nature is not heightened by some august historical associations. Yet the more imperious aspects of nature awoke in him poetic response. He can render the thunder of waterfall, or the might of Alpine tempest. The ocean, too, took hold upon his spirit. It is a fine touch of truth and feeling that Harold's pilgrimage through the ruins of antiquity should end at the shore of the eternal, ever-sounding sea. And sometimes, though too seldom, the intenser loveliness of nature seems for a moment to force his turbulent mood into rapt stillness as before a more awful power. The oft-quoted evening scene on Lake Leman is in this tone, and is, perhaps, the best passage Byron ever wrote.

Of his work in general, it must be said that its power is felt in the mass rather than in the details. Of details he was careless, ostentatiously so; throwing off his work rapidly, in a heat that, in later years, was usually heightened by the vulgar inspiration of gin and water. It was inevitable that he should miss the finer graces of the poetic art. His lines do not captivate us by their sudden felicity or beauty. His meter, too, is often slovenly. Reckless, jolting, broken-backed lines are dropped at random into his most famous passages. Here, for example, are some lines from the two stanzas just preceding the great apostrophe to Ocean:

> "Yet once more let us look upon the sea.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Those waves we followed on, till the dark Euxine roll'd
>
> Upon the blue Symplegades; long years—
> *Long, though not very many*, since have done
> Their work on both. . . .
> Yet not in vain our mortal race hath run,
> *We have had our reward*—and it is here."

How could a man with any ear for metrical effect leave standing in one of his most ambitious passages lines like those we have italicized? By no torture of scansion can they be forced into meter; they are prose, and bad prose at that. And his verse is full of such lines. If Byron had been more an artist

and less a dandy, these are the lame feet he would have been most careful not to show.

But in Byron's latest work all these defects of form are hardly noticed. The reckless, cynical bravado of his later years sets at defiance all rules of art as well as of morals, mocks all proprieties, and is a law unto itself. At bottom Byron was a satirist always. He had begun in that vein with the "Bards and Reviewers," and he returned to it in the "Beppo," 1818, as we have said, with an ease and vigor of which the crude early satire showed little sign. From that time until his death all his most vigorous work was in that mode. In 1821 he wrote the most crushing parody in the language. The year before, the death of George III. had made it necessary for Southey to write an ode; and the laureate rose to the occasion with a most astounding piece of panegyric, which he called a "Vision of Judgment." The fussy old king, who, however good a husband and father he might have been had never been a good king or a great man, was ushered to the gate of heaven with ineffable celestial pomps, accused by the spirits of Wilkes and Junius from the regions of the damned below, absolved by the majestic shade of Washington from the seats of the blessed above, and then welcomed with acclaim into the companionship of the saints and heroes of all time. Even Southey outdid himself; he was never delivered of any thing else so big and bad. Byron, however, might have only laughed with all the rest of the world if Southey had not seen fit to prefix to his "Vision" a long preface, in which he attacked the poetry of Byron for its immorality. As usual, Southey's prose was as good as his verse was bad, and the epithet "Satanic," which he applied to Byron and his school, struck home. Byron saw his opportunity and issued *his* "Vision of Judgment." He parodies Southey's at every point, with really quite as little irreverence; and when, at last, he introduces the laureate himself to speak in his own cause,

> "With all the attitudes of self-applause,"

the flood of triumphant satire becomes quite irresistible.

But Byron's most characteristic work is his last, and his greatest, the "Don Juan." Here, finally, the whole man speaks as he is, in the last period of his life. For the bitter experiences of life had not wrought in him that temper of proud and

sad isolation which he assumed in the "Harold"—far from it. Here is the man who has at last ceased to posture—bitter, defiant, cynical, yet with flashes of nobler feeling and moods of deepest pathos. The vigor, the flexibility, the life of this poem are astonishing. Byron has thrown off all the formal restraints of his earlier manner; he is now only uttering with careless freedom the changing moods of a restless and fiery soul. The story is nothing—worse than nothing; Byron cares little for it, and after the first two cantos often forgets his rascally little hero for almost a whole canto together. But it is difficult to exaggerate the reckless, wicked ease and brilliancy of this verse. There are stanzas of the most vivid description; there are stanzas that melt with what seems real feeling; stanzas that shine with a momentary gleam of pure spiritual beauty such as Byron hardly ever reached before; stanzas that glow with the fire of a lofty aspiration—all thrown wildly together, and flowing every-where around them all, enveloping them like a sea, that resistless tide of mocking, brilliant satire. Open any canto—say the third. You meet first, perhaps, some of those passages descriptive of Haidee—one of the most vivid pictures in poetry of an innocent, soulless human creature. Turn the leaf and you come upon the very noblest lyric Byron ever wrote, "The Isles of Greeee;" but he introduces it with a series of jests, and follows its last moving words with a cold jeer at their sentiment. This leads him to satire upon poetic truth, and on the next page he is lashing the Lake school. Turn another leaf, and you come upon the sweet and plaintive "Ave Maria." He interrupts this hallowed strain with a laugh of blasphemy; but then, as if some tender memory of the past were for the moment too persuasive for any other mood, he passes into those lines—imitated from Sappho and from Dante—where the sentiment has subdued the phrase to a grace and delicacy quite unusual in Byron's verse:

"O Hesperus! thou bringest all good things:
Home to the weary, to the hungry cheer,
To the young bird the parent's brooding wings,
The welcome stall to the o'erlabored steer;
Whate'er of peace about our hearthstone clings,
Whate'er our household gods protect of dear,
Are gathered round us by thy look of rest;
Thou bring'st the child, too, to the mother's breast.

"Soft hour! which wakes the wish and melts the heart
Of those who sail the seas, on the first day
When they from their sweet friends are torn apart;
Or fills with love the pilgrim on his way
As the far bell of vesper makes him start,
Seeming to weep the dying day's decay;
Is this a fancy which our reason scorns?
Ah! surely nothing dies but something mourns!"

And then, with a start, as though brushing aside a tear in sardonic derision,—

"I feel this tediousness will never do—
'Tis being *too* epic!"

So it is throughout this long poem, save that toward the close the pathos goes out of it. It is, in truth, the greatest of Byron's poems; its pungent wit, its exhaustless satire, its brilliant imagery, above all its wondrous ease, unite to give us a sense of power such as we get from no other one of his works. But it is his worst poem, too; worst not merely because of its license but worst because it is the most utterly lacking in faith, and love and reverence. There is here no calm, no exaltation. Byron's unbelief has passed into flippant, universal negation. His obstinate denial of all convention has sunk into denial of all principle; he has no motive beyond the passion of the moment. More, and worse than that even, he has stripped life of all ideal quality; he flouts all sentiment, and if for a moment some better mood invites his soul, he turns away in derision and laughs the laugh of the scorner. Nothing is any longer sacred to this man. He derides man, and woman, and country, and home, and earth, and heaven, and hell. Southey was not ranting, but speaking calm philosophy, when he called such poetry Satanic. The "Don Juan" is such a poem as Mephistopheles might write, if he should turn poet.

His poetry is not wholesome, not fitted to guide or inspire; but it has a titanic power. It shines no steadfast star, but glares some baleful meteor athwart the sky, a type of the unrest of passions that will own no law, and desires that can never fix calmly on what may exalt and satisfy.

C. T. Winchester.

Art. III.—THE NEW AFRICA:—III. ITS DESTINY.*

With this article this series ends. By the generosity of the editors of the *Methodist Review* the writer has been permitted to lay before its readers these little sheaves of the fruits of his studies, in what is to him by far the most fascinating branch of natural science, namely, *Geography*—the knowledge of the surface of the earth as the home of man and the theater of his history. It has taken man 6,000 years to explore his homestead above ground, and he has hardly been into the cellar yet. How absurd, in the light of this, is the fanaticism that fixes the time as just at hand when man shall be done with the world as a material possession! It will take him a thousand years more to find out what he has down cellar, stored away in the earth for his coming needs, and then untold millenniums to work it up! One of the globe's best continents civilized man has only just looked into. We have followed its opening up for only the last century, and traced the discovery, or rediscovery, of what we have called *the New Africa*, with its principal geographical results, as shown in part by the map with our July article, which see. But other elements must be considered. Orography, potamography, chorography, ethnography, climate, productions, etc., are all powerful factors in the problem of a continent's destiny. Statistics is the basis

* *Discoveries in North and Central Africa.* By Henry Barth, Ph.D., D.C.L. 3 vols. 8vo. Maps and Cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Through the Dark Continent. By Henry M. Stanley. 2 vols. 8vo. Maps and Cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Congo, and the Founding of its Free State. A Story of Work and Exploration. By Henry M. Stanley. 2 vols. 8vo. Maps, Charts, and Cuts. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race. By Edward W. Blyden, LL.D., late Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Liberia at the Court of St. James. 1 vol. 8vo. London: W. B. Whittingham & Co.

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See also two previous articles, in May and July issues of this *Review*, the latter with a map.

of prophecy in material things. Statistics, anthropology, and religion are prime factors of civilization, and to these we now turn. Here we shall necessarily be very superficial and unsystematic, merely touching the tops of things, that we may reach a general estimate and summing up of the elements that foretell the destiny of one of man's grandest inheritances on this planet.

And now what is the destiny of this stupendous New Africa to be? And here comes in a greater wonder, if possible, than its discovery. North America lay a century after its last discovery, and six centuries after its discovery by Leif, the son of Eric the Red, before it was colonized by its true recreator, the Anglo-Saxon. But before the telegraph and the steam press are done telling the story of the discovery of New Africa its explorer is back on its vast rivers with steamboats and colonists; and European Congresses—nay, Europe and America combined—are pushing order, law, civilization, missionaries, and alas! the rum destruction also! on into the very heart of the Continent. Capitalists, tourists, scientists, and missionaries from the whole civilized world are fairly tumbling over one another in their ardor to grasp for trade, for knowledge, or for Christ, the grandest opening yet unoccupied on the globe. With what a mighty heave and swing the tide of human thought and energy is turning toward this new and stupendous opportunity! "Africaward!" is just now the marching order of civilization. What an exponent is this very movement of the light, the tension, the forces, the velocities of the world of to-day, as compared with that of A. D. 1492! That was a great age. It was like Joseph's wagons out of Egypt compared with Jacob's donkey or staff. But this age is to that like a lightning-express train to Joseph's ox-carts! And this is the age, these are the forces and velocities, that are to civilize Africa. Fifty years ago our fathers built railroads that crept in zigzags from one old city to another, not daring to get beyond the certainty of "immediate business." Now we run railroads through trackless wildernesses across great continents, in order to *create* business by closely occupying the country. On such principles is Africa to be civilized. Never was any other continent civilized so swiftly, nor so economically as to life and treasure, as Africa is destined to be.

Here are these two goodly volumes of Stanley's great voyage,

and the other two, prophetically put into a binding several shades lighter in tint, telling how he has built his roads and strung his treaties and trading posts along the whole of that vast river, and how the frightful cannibals who gnashed for his blood have now mingled their own blood with his in their sacred rite of blood brotherhood, and so call him brother. Prophetic omen! The broad seal of the Congo Free State—a beautiful negress crowning a rampant lion—adorns these covers; and these maps, constantly corrected and improved, are becoming part of the common school geography of Christendom. There is a mail service by 14 steamers from Stanley Pool to Stanley Falls, over 1,000 miles of the great lake-like river; and the ecclesiastical Stanleys of the Christian world, the English and American Baptists and our Bishop William Taylor, have more missionary stations between St. Paul de Loanda and the Kassai, and between Stanley Pool and Stanley Falls, than the political founder has trading stations on the whole river system. Europe and America have depopulated Africa in the past. Now Europe and America are moving into Africa.

And now what is to be the outcome of all this? What do the elements of the problem promise? Let us glance at some of those elements.

First let us consider some of the *physical* and *geographical* elements. We may roughly say that the New Africa extends from the southern edge of the Sahara and Abyssinia to the Kalahari Desert of South Africa. The small fringe of European settlements on the west coast scarcely counts in the vast problem (except as seed-corn counts); but the great Somali and Swahili half-breed Arabic element on the east coast, from the straits at Aden to Mozambique, is a highly important factor. Look at the rivers, lakes, and land contours of this vast region.

The upper Nile region may be said to extend from Khartoum southward. The entire area drained by the Nile is put at 1,000,000 square miles. But it is only the length and area above Khartoum (1,345 feet elevation) that now interest us. That length is from 1,100 to 1,750 miles (with or without the Alexandra Nile), about half of which is navigable in sections, and the rest furnishes one of the greatest water-powers in the world. The country here is mostly on the highest great plateau in Africa, very fertile and populous, considerably advanced in

a barbaric civilization, furnishing a vast variety of useful products of both temperate and tropical climates, healthful for Europeans, and needing only easy access to the sea to make it the seat of a great empire. Victoria Lake lies 4,000 feet above the sea, and is 220 by 180 miles in extent, 600 feet (perhaps much more) in depth, and its area is 39,600 square miles, being midway in area between Lake Michigan (24,000) and Lake Superior (32,000 square miles). Baker's Albert Lake has 2,000 square miles area. There are several other lakes in this region, but whether they belong to the Nile is not yet certain. The upper White Nile region alone, including the Bahr-el-Gazal's great fertile plain, has 600,000 square miles of well-watered and populous land, equal to *fifteen Ohios* (of 40,000 square miles each)—an empire in itself.

The great central Soudan region, though comparatively ancient in settlement, belongs to the New Africa for Europeans. It is a basin of inland drainage, and one of the lowest, levelest, and most fertile basins on the globe. The elevation of Lake Tchad above the sea is variously given at from 850 to 1,150 feet, and its area varies greatly, from 10,000 to 50,000 square miles, with the seasons, as its shores are so very flat and low that a slight rise in the lake doubles its extent. Only at a few points can towns be built near its shores, the land not being high enough to allow it. Its great affluent is the river Shary, which has many large branches, and is never so low as to be unnavigable; and so of the Logon and other of its large tributaries. The perfect freshness of Lake Tchad, an anomaly among land-locked lakes, is now explained. Native report declared that the Tchad had an outlet for its overflow, toward the north-east. Barth failed to find it, but prints the full native accounts of it in his noble work, *Discoveries in Africa* (vol. ii, pp. 610, 611). According to native reports, only one man living, and he very aged, had in his youth gone down the Bahr-el-Gazal by water. At Barth's time its valley was full of forests, farms, and towns. Dr. Nachtigal, in 1869, found it, as a *khor*—that is, in Arabic, an intermittent river—flowing north-eastwardly for 300 miles, and fertilizing a great wady, before its waters are finally absorbed by evaporation and by the marshes and sands of the desert in a vast basin, once the bed of an inland sea, and now only 400 feet above the sea-level. Lake

N'Gami, in southern Africa, in like manner overflows by the Zuga River, which reaches far into the Kalahari Desert. So, also, of the Seistan Lake, which receives the Helmund; and the Lob Nor, which receives the Tarim, in Asia; and the Humboldt lake and river in Nevada. The Komadugu is an inflowing *khor* on the west of Lake Tchad, sometimes fordable or dry, at other times a navigable river for 200 miles. There are hundreds of these *khors* in Africa. This Tchad and Shary country is one of the richest in soil, in rain-fall, and in variety and value of natural productions on the globe, and it is exceedingly populous, though far below the ability of the country, under good cultivation, to support; and far below what it was a century or two ago. But owing to the inundations it is subject to fevers, and the camel is not yet acclimated there, though horses and cattle abound.

The Niger basin occupies the western Soudan, from the famous mediæval city of Timbuctoo on the southern edge of the Sahara to the Kong Mountains on the south. The Niger is 2,600 miles long; and nearly two miles wide, toward its mouths, which are 200 miles apart, and inclose 14,000 square miles of delta. But its navigation is several times interrupted by rapids, and it has a region of divided channels and floating ambatch swamp on its upper course, greater than that on the upper White Nile. It has, however, about 700 miles of steamboat, and as much more barge navigation, and drains a fertile and populous country full of large cities. Its great eastern arm, the Benué, has been ascended by steamer over 400 miles, where it was still half a mile wide and ten feet deep, a river of vast value agriculturally and commercially, with populous cities on its shores. The French have now a steamer on the upper Niger.

The Ogowai (Ogowee) proves, on exploration, to be a much less important river than was anticipated, being navigable at freshet for only about 300 miles.

The Coanza, in the Portuguese possessions south of the Congo, has only about 140 miles' navigable length, and has a bar at its mouth. The Cunené, the Orange, and the Limpopo are unnavigable. The Okavango, a large inland-flowing river discovered by Anderson in 1854–59, a navigable stream, 600 feet wide, flows by the Teoghe into Lake N'Gami, and thence, by the Zouga, into the salt-pans of the desert.

The Zambezi is 1,800 to 2,000 miles long, reaching almost across the continent at this part, and is the only navigable river of Africa on the east coast. It has 10,000 square miles of delta, is a mile wide above it, with 320 miles of navigation below Victoria Falls, and 150 miles more on its great northern branch, the Shiré. Above the falls it probably has a good deal more navigation for small steamers and barges. It has a great extent of fertile land in its broad basin of 600,000 square miles area, and has also the deep and splendid Lake Nyassa, of 9,000 square miles extent. The general character of the country and its population are not yet fully known, but it is not without great interest. The country between the Zambezi and the Limpopo is both alluvial and mountainous, and is a rich gold field, and of high historic interest. When the Portuguese discovered this country, A. D. 1570 to 1600, they found here the flourishing and powerful half-breed Arab kingdom of Monmotapa. But what was more strange, these Arabs were not Mohammedans—had not a trace of Moslem theology in their ideas, but rather resemblance to the pre-Mohammedan Sabean fire-worship which Islam destroyed. The Arab traditions claim this as the kingdom of Solomon's Queen of Sheba. The river Sabia seems to be a reminiscence of Sabea, in Arabia; their seaport capital, Sofala, has a suggestion of Ophir, and the extensive pre-historic ruins of granite-built towers and citadels at Zimbaoe, 200 miles due west of Sofala, have been set down as Ophir itself. Similar vast ruins, impossible of construction for the African tribes, are now found also at Zumbo, Manica, and Massapa, all in the same country, now conquered and desolated by the Matabelés, a Zulu race.* Mr. F. C. Selous, an elephant hunter, has just discovered† two new gold districts in this same region, the one an alluvial "washing field;" the other a prehistoric quartz rock mine 100 feet deep. Gold diggers from the English Transvaal gold fields are expected to be soon pouring into this region. Antiquarians are strongly inclined to a common consent that all indications point more strongly to this region as the ancient Ophir than to any other yet known.

The Rovuma, Rufiji, and Jub, and Haines River, on the east African coast, are all large rivers, but, so far as known, all inca-

* See Capt. C. E. Haynes, R. E., in *Journal of Manchester Geological Society*, 1887, p. 244, *et seqq.* † *Royal Geological Society's Proceedings*, May, 1888.

pable of navigation. The latter does not even reach the sea, but forms a land-locked lagoon several hundred miles long, behind enormous maritime sand-dunes, some of them 600 feet high.

The whole eastern part of Africa, from the Straits to the Zambezi, is a lofty plateau, rising steeply by successive terraces from the Indian Ocean: it is scantily watered, and a good deal of the northern and higher parts are arid, or watered only by *khors* during six or eight months in the year. But this region is not without great value. There is good reason to believe that it is the botanical home of many of the most valuable spices and aromatics now in cultivation in Arabia and elsewhere, and the place where many of them will thrive better in the future than anywhere else on the globe. This is especially true of the coffee shrub, which almost certainly went thence to Arabia; and indeed much of the finest "Mocha" is still produced there, and merely sent to Arabia for sale. There are also reasons for believing that the granitic and quartzite tracts found abundantly in this region will prove to be charged with precious metals and gems.

The vast tract now seized by Germany here extends from Victoria Lake on the north to the Rovuma river on the south, and from the Indian Ocean on the east to Lake Nyassa on the west. It completely absorbs the continental possessions of Zanzibar and the whole Arab region here, and is an empire equal to six Ohios. And now England takes the next slice to the north, which undoubtedly means the whole Nile Basin. Portugal already claims the south bank of the Rovuma. The great tracts grasped by France north of the Congo mouth, about five Ohios; and the two tracts claimed by Germany on the Atlantic coast, amounting to as much more, show how the territory of Africa is being "grabbed" by European powers.

But the royal realm of Africa, the last uncovered and greatest of all, is the basin of the monarch river of the continent, and of the entire Eastern hemisphere, the threefold Congo. The world would like to call it the Livingstone, after its heroic discoverer, but the name does not "stick" any more than did Orellana's to the Amazon. The old native name is so short, so euphonious, so resonant and bell-like in the mouth, and withal so *African*, that it has the right of way by every reason, and will keep it; and ought to be spelled with the

native sounds — Kongo. The following table, which have compiled from various sources, compares the Congo with some of the other principal rivers of the world, so far as I can lay hands on the desired information. The statements queried are such as, for want of satisfactory data, I have estimated; and those followed by the *plus* sign (+) are minimum estimates.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GREAT RIVERS.

Name of River.	Length of main stream in miles.	Navigable length, including branches.	Volume, in cubic ft., per second, at low water.	Area of basin drained, in square miles.
AFRICA:				
Nile (incl. Alex. Nile)	3,900 (Petermann's last, 4,000).	2,900 (in sections.)	61,500 (at Cairo.)	1,000,000
Niger	2,600	1,200 (includ. Benué)	....	800,000
Zambezi	1,800	500+	....	600,000
Congo	3,034	8,000	2,000,000 (At flood, 3,000,000.)	1,508,000 (38 Ohios of 40,000 sq. m. each.)
INDIA:				
Ganges	1,680	800	207,000	432,480
Indus	1,800	800	40,857	372,700
Brahmaputra	1,800	500?	146,188	250,000?
CHINA:				
Yang-tse-Kiang	3,158 (Petermann's last.)	1,200	....	748,000
Hwang-ho	2,600	500?	....	400,000
SIBERIA:				
Amoor	2,920	2,400+	....	785,000
Lena	3,000	800+	....	1,000,000
Yenesei	2,900 (incl. Selenga, 3,500.)	540+	...	1,380,000 (34½ Ohios.)
Obi	2,530	900+	...	1,3[illegible]5,000?
N. AMERICA:				
Missouri-Mississippi	4,300	35,000 (Petermann's last.)	675,000 (mean annual.)	1,350,000 (34 Ohios.)
M'Kenzie	2,868	....	....	
St. Lawrence & Lakes.	2,200	4,000	....	600,000
Yukon	2,100	1,200?	....	350,000?
S. AMERICA:				
Plata-Parana-Uruguay	2,550	20,000	....	1,200,000
Orinoco	1,600	1,000	....	366,000
Amazon	4,000	50,000 (Exclusive of the Tocantins, or Araguay.)	*....	2,100,000 (52½ Ohios.)

* The volume of many of these rivers is not ascertained, but Professor McLaren, of Edinburgh, says (*Ency. Brit.*, i. p. 674): "The Amazon alone discharges more water than the eight principal rivers of Asia, the Indus, Ganges, Yang-tse, Hwang-ho, Amoor, Lena, Yenesei, and Obi, combined."

These figures give us an idea of the comparative magnitude and importance of the Congo. In *length* of main stream it

ranks *sixth;* in extent of *navigable waters*, *fourth;* and in point of *volume*, and of *area*, the *second*, among the great waterways of the globe. Its eight principal lakes thus far known cover an aggregate of 32,000 square miles, just equal to the area of Lake Superior. But nearly half the Nile basin is hopeless desert, as is also the case with the Indus and the Hwang-ho, and to a lesser extent with even the Ganges and the Plata; while the great rivers of Siberia, with enormous volume and great fertile areas on their upper courses, are in their lower courses frozen solid half the year.

Stanley makes the Congo river, from the sources of the Chambezé, between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyassa, to the Atlantic, to be 3,034 miles long, including the lakes through which it flows. The volume of water in its lower course, at its lowest stage (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. i, p. 254, ninth edition), is over 2,000,000 cubit feet per second, and at flood (Stanley) over 3,000,000. Do we know what that means? It is the product of breadth, depth, and velocity. Much of the lower channel and estuary is from 300 to 600 feet deep! It has no delta. Why not? Because it empties between bold shores into a deep sea, after the water has been filtered by "settling" in its lacustrine upper course; but still more because the enormous "scouring" power of its mighty volume and velocity carries most its remaining sediment out to the deep sea, where the mound of its fresh water slopes off over the sea-water for fifty miles. But what does 2,000,000 cubit feet per second mean? It means *thirty-three Niles* at Cairo!

As to climate, Stanley's experience, like that of Grenfell and others, dissipates many delusions. With prudence and temperance whites can become acclimated there, as every-where else. Counting the added cost of winter to human living in colder climates, the basin of the Congo can probably support a greater population than that of the Mississippi, as it has more area, and is equally fertile, or more so. In its present barbarous and savage state, harried by slave-traders all around its rim, it now supports an estimated population of 51,886,000, almost that of the United States. The lower river is thinly populated, but the development of commerce and water power will pack it with people; and the upper Congo has now about forty souls to the square mile, and on some of the great east and west

routes across the great southern tributaries, as found by Pogge and Wissman, there is almost one continual village, teeming with cultivation and prosperity. Some of these great tributaries are themselves vast rivers. The iron-charged coffee-brown water of the great Ruiki, Stanley's Ikelemba, makes half the breadth of the milky Congo brown for 130 miles below their junction. The Kasai-Kwa and the Mobangé are Congos themselves. But compactness is another value of this vast basin. The mighty northward loop of the Congo, whose curve is imitated in all its branches, makes its basin almost circular, and so brings all parts nearest possible to the center and outlet at Stanley Pool. It is claimed that no point can be located in all this vast basin so as to be over 100 miles from permanent navigation. And not one of these rivers is spoiled for commerce by flowing, as in the case of our Tennessee, hundreds of miles in the wrong direction. And, what is more vital still, coal is already found on the Rovuma, on the east shore; at Teté on the Zambezi in the south, and on the upper Kasai, in the Congo basin. Coal, petroleum, and whatever things else are necessary to civilization, will undoubtedly be found when they are looked for.

The lower course of the river, from Stanley Pool to the head of the estuary, except at a few quiet stretches, is a tremendous canyon (cut by the overflow of the once vast fresh inland sea, an enormous Tchad, of which Stanley Pool is the last remnant), and down which the great river now rushes in a series of low cataracts and wild, tumbling rapids of vast depth and resistless fury, between precipitous walls of craggy rock like those below Niagara Falls, and is wholly useless for navigation. But a trunk line of railway 235 miles long, now being contracted for, where Stanley's turnpike is, will open all this inland empire to the sea. And, furthermore, the immeasurable water-power of the lower river (of which the inland levels are destitute) must soon become the providential *mill* through which the whole realm will send its raw material, working it all up here, on its way to the outside world. And it must be borne in mind that the Congo is the anomaly of geography, being the only great river on the globe that flows westward. Divine Providence here reversed the plan of the globe in order to finally bring Africa into communion with

the Christian civilizations of Europe and America, rather than with the dead systems of Asia.

And what has the Congo basin to send to such a mill, that Europe and the world wants? It has ivory, hippo teeth, palm oil, rubber in boundless abundance, fossil gum copal enough to varnish the world, orchilla weed, one of the finest dyes known, redwood, camwood, honey, beeswax, skins, sesamum seed (for oil), cassava, manioc, rice, ground-nuts, coffee, kola-nuts (a substitute for coffee), ebony, teak, cotton, palm fibers, ginger, spices, balsams, fragrant and medicinal gums and drugs, iron and copper in abundance, with other things too numerous to mention. Wheat and all the cereals of the temperate zones will thrive on the high uplands. But at this very day a trunk railroad to Stanley Pool, with a few steamers on the upper river, could deliver on the docks at Boma a three times greater annual collection of merchantable productions for exportation than is now gathered by the entire coasting trade of Western Africa. So says Stanley—(*Congo*, vol. ii, page 367). And there are 50,000,000 robust, quick-witted, moderately industrious natives, the best "born traders" in the world, capable of rapid civilization, ready to help on the work, and so help themselves; a population infinitely superior to the few, diminutive, and impish blow-gun Indians that occupy the wildernesses of the Amazon. And they are all of the one great Bantur stock, and their dialects are all reducible to one written language that will unify African speech from the Mobangé to Lake N'Gami. So much for the physical and commercial outlook.

But there is one important point more here. Barth found (and subsequent explorations have confirmed it), that the river Logon, the great south-western branch of the Shary, which now goes to the Shary and so to Lake Tchad, once went to the great Benué, and so to the Niger and the ocean. The old channel is still there, known as the Mayo-Kebbi, a broad, deep trough only 25 miles long, with a swampy bayou at its bottom, which is only 50 feet above Lake Tchad; and even now, when either the Benué or the Logon are at flood the water of the higher stream goes to the lower, either way, through this natural canal. Moreover, according to Barth (vol. ii, p. 202) the country between the southern tributaries of the Shary and the northern feeders of the Congo is probably a

level prairie or steppe, and there are reports of an *anastomosis* between the two systems of rivers. At any rate there is an easy route for canals and railways. Here, then, is another great and open way for inland communication; a route by water and land from Stanley Pool to the Soudan and Khartoum.

The outcome of all our geographical studies is, therefore, this: The entire central region of Africa, from the Sahara to the Kalahari—the region drained by the upper Nile, the Logon-Shary, the Niger-Benué, the Zambezi, and the three-fold Congo—is the vastest, best watered, most fertile, most accessible, most populous, richest in resources, most promising for future greatness, of all the uncivilized regions on the globe; and far more so than many regions now civilized and famous originally were. The New Africa is the seat of the coming New World of the Eastern Hemisphere, or, at any rate, is physically capable of being such.

So much for the *natural* elements in the great problem of Africa's destiny. Now, what about the *human* elements; the races of men, their civilization, religion, presents tatus, capabilities for the future? Who and what are the races occupying our New Africa?

The almost universally accepted anthropology of modern science puts Japhet (the Aryans), Shem (the Semites), and Ham (the Hamites), together as the Caucasian race or variety (not species) of mankind; and makes the Ugrians, the Mongols, the Malays, and the Negroes (and some authorities make other divisions also) each another separate variety of the one common species and genus *homo*, man.

Leaving the radical school of anthropology out of the question, it cannot be denied that the vast preponderance of conservative scientific opinion is, at least, to this effect, namely: While the Berbers (including the Twareks, Copts, and Tibbus) are Hamitic, but differentiated toward the Semitic stock, the true Negroes are also probably Hamitic, but profoundly differentiated in the direction of some other undetermined factor, and the Æthiopians or Abyssinians are an intermediate link between the Caucasian Hamite and the non-Caucasian Negro, with also a prehistoric Semite mixture from southern Arabia. Barth, whose work is a very mine of learning on the Soudan, concededly the best authority extant on the subject, says that while

the original population of the Soudan was Negro, as was all the southern edge of the Sahara, nevertheless the Negro has been crowded southward along the whole line by the Moor (a mixed Arab) in the west, by the Berber (including both Twareks and Tibbus) in the center, and by the Arab in the east. Timbuctoo is a city of Berber, not Negro, origin, founded before the Norman conquest of England, since conquered by Moors, and now ruled by the Fulbé, or Fellatah, who are neither Moor, Berber, Arab, nor Negro, but a distinct race between the Arab and Berber on the one side and the Negro stock on the other,* and whose language and physiognomy, and only semi-woolly hair, are more Mongoloid or Kaffir than Negro; but who are the most intelligent, energetic, and rapidly becoming the most powerful people, in the Soudan, and whose influence is now felt from Senegambia to Baghirmi, through half a dozen native States. In all the Niger basin only the Mandingo and the Tombo countries about the head of the Joliba, or Niger, are now ruled by pure Negro dynasties, the former being a splendid and capable jet-black people, probably the finest purely Negro race yet known to Europeans,† and the one upon whom, as neighbors to Liberia, Dr. Blyden's opinions seem to have been mostly founded. In the central Soudan the Kanuri of Kanem and Bornu came to Kanem as a conquering Tibbu-Berber stock over 500 years ago, and are now Negroid. Farther east Tibbu and Arab are the ruling elements. Haussa, Sokoto, and Adamawa are now Fellatah States. The southward pressure of Moor, Twarek, Tibbu, and Arab, is still going on; and the Fulbé, in the midst of the native States, is rapidly penetrating them, subverting the few native Negro dynasties still existing, and creating a new and rising race and power that is, at any rate, not Negro. Thus ancient Nigritia is rapidly ceasing to be "Negroland," the races being more and more mixed, and newer and ruling elements of Moor, Berber, and Arab constantly flowing in. This is the testimony of a long line of scholars from Barth down to Professor A. H. Keane, author of the learned article on "Soudan," in volume xxii. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, published late in 1887.

The people commonly considered Negro, in Africa, consist mainly of three great stocks—the Nigritians of the Soudan, the

* Barth, ii, 132. † *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race.*

great Bantu stock reaching from the southern bounds of the Soudan to the southern rim of the Zambezi basin, and the great Zulu stock. All these differ widely from each other in physiology, languages, arts, and customs. The Nigritians are declining under Arab and Berber pressure; the Zulus, a powerful and semi-Negro race, are rapidly extending their conquests northward beyond the Zambezi into east-central Africa. The Bantus are mainly agriculturists. They fill the Congo basin, and extend eastward to the Indian Ocean, between Uganda (which is Bantu) and Unyanyembi. They have only recently been discovered, and are not yet much studied by Europeans.

But not all so-called Negroes are true Negroes. As for the eastern highland regions of the two Niles, and thence southward from the Abyssinians and the Shillooks at Khartoum to the Waganda of Uganda—the Niam-Niam of Monbuttoo, the Manyuema of the Lualaba, and the Makololo on the Zambezi—the ruling and paramount native tribes are Negroid, but not Negro, unless our ordinary conception of the Negro is a good deal revised. As Livingstone says of the Makolo, so of all these, they are a "coffee and milk color;" or we may say all these peoples are from a dark coffee-brown to brownish-white, like coffee, depending on the amount of milk added.* They are mostly tall, straight, leanish, wiry, active, of rather regular features, fair agriculturists and cattle-raisers, with a good deal of mechanical capacity, born merchants and traders, and *almost every where hold darker and more truly negro tribes in slavery to themselves, where any such tribes exist.* Where they have none or few domestic animals for meat, they are frequently cannibals. In the middle Congo basin the tribes are more truly Negro, and here the true Negroes are freemen, independent and capable, though in a somewhat low state of development. But, so far as now known, the true Negro, in an independent condition, holds and rules but a comparatively small part of Africa, or even of our *New Africa.* As to capability for improvement these peoples—

* Prof. Drummond says, in his *Tropical Africa*, pp. 57, 58. "Talking of skins I may observe in passing that the highland African is not a Negro, nor is his skin black. It is a deep, full-toned brown. No one knows exactly who these people are. Of course they belong to the great Bantu race; but their origin is obscure."

the Negroid races at least and probably the Negroes — are as apt and civilizable as any Caucasian or Mongolian people have originally been, if we consider how their geographical and climatic isolation has hitherto cut them off from the rest of the world and the world from them. We know that if we leave revelation out of the account, all Caucasian civilization, whether Aryan, Semitic, or Hamitic, can be traced backward until, just on the dawn of history, it narrows down to small clans or families, with whom the light began and from whom it spread. We know the same, also, as to the non-Caucasian Chinese and Nahua civilizations of Asia and America. Had the spread of the germs of these civilizations been prevented by conditions like those in Africa, who shall say that the stage of development might not be about the same to-day? There seems to be but one uncivilizable race —if, indeed, they are such—in Africa; and that is the dwarfs. The Akka, found by Schweinfurth south of the Welle, called themselves "Betua," the same word as the "Batua" on the Kassai. The dwarfs of the upper Zambezi call themselves by a similar word, and so with the Bushmen in South Africa. Many things go to prove that these dwarf nations are all one race, the diminutive remnants of a primeval stock of one of the lowest types of man, who have never risen above the hunter stage of life. They have been scattered, and almost exterminated, by the incoming of the powerful Bantu stock, that is now spread from the Soudan to Zululand. These dwarfs are the best living examples of similar races once scattered over Europe and Asia, whose real existence lies at the bottom of all the lore of fairies, brownies, elfs, gnomes, etc., etc. They constitute one of the most pregnant subjects of study in all anthropology. They are seemingly always uncivilizable.

But *religion* has every-where played a great part in the progress of civilization, and Japhet's worshiping in the tabernacles of Shem—that is, receiving a divine revelation through Shem, the prophet of humanity—has made him to fulfill Noah's prediction, and to "spread abroad," until to-day his arms encompass the earth. Ham, including the Negro, has also received his religion (all above paganism) from Shem, but mainly not the same religion, nor from the same family of Shem. He has largely received, and is now rapidly receiving, the later and

mongrel counterfeit religion which the Semitic Arab forged in imitation of, and as a counterblast against, the true religion of the Semite Jew and the Aryan Christian. This is the matter which takes up so large a part of Professor Blyden's volume, but in which he largely borrows from Professor R. Bosworth Smith's *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, of which several of his papers are reviews or discussions, and to which he gives frequent credit, and for which Mr. Smith gives him laudatory indorsement in return. In fact, in any elaborate discussion, we must deal with Mr. Smith, and not Dr. Blyden.

It is the constant and rapid progress of Mohammedanism in Africa, especially in the central and western Soudan, where it has come to the very boundaries of the slender Christianity along the coast, which so much occupies his pages. Originally propagated here by jehads, or proselyting wars (which were generally slaving wars in reality) from Morocco, from Fez, and from the eastern or Arabic Soudan, it is now almost every-where dominant, if not professed. It has its mosques and schools in all large towns, and is teaching Moslem letters and learning to millions of the Soudanese. It has been doing this for some centuries. Of the many millions of Soudanese between Senegambia and Abyssinia, Islam can claim at least two thirds of the people, and has the respect of the other third. In cities like Kano, of sixty thousand souls, and many more of similar size, the Moslem pontiffs are more powerful, often, than the civil or military chiefs. Among the common people Islam is the sign of freedom from slavery, of culture, and almost of nobility. Mr. Blyden would have us believe that, with its simple Monotheism, its end of slavery to its professor (though he may forthwith enslave all the pagans he can catch or buy, and carry on the horrid slaving wars *ad libitum* against pagan tribes), and its leveling fraternity of spirit (inside its pale !), Islam is a good preparation for Christianity; and, indeed, one who did not know him to be a Protestant Christian minister might almost think him so Jesuitically, "as it were," "free from prejudice" on this subject, that, in his sublime candor, he rather favors Islam; "standing so straight (to use a shrewd vulgarism) as to lean a *leetle* the other way!"

But what say other authorities? Barth, who was not bigoted enough to rest from marching and exploring on Sunday (as Stanley, to his honor, always does, since, as he modestly confesses, Livingstone converted him), declares that every-where throughout the Mohammedan Soudan, from Timbuctoo, Sego, Jenné, Gogha, and Kano to Kukuwá, Waday, and eastward, the Soudan country is in a state *not* of prosperity and progress but in a state of retrogression and chaotic decay. He gives two reasons for this: first, the overthrow of the native powers by Moorish, Berber, and Arab conquest, raid, and intrigue; and then, in turn, the decay of the powers which these forces built up by the petrifying, fossilizing spell of Islam, a religion to which *progress* is only another name for heresy and infidelity. Its proselyting energy is a mighty arouser of a pagan mind, but its lack of regenerating inspiration and moral restraint and vital transforming progressiveness makes its effect here, as in all Semitic and Berber lands already, to freeze up the evolution of the human mind and of faith, and so to teach its converts to commit all affairs to blind fanaticism and fatalism. The verdict of Asia, of Africa, of history, of civilization is, that Islam is no substitute for Christianity, and small help to its progress. It proves over again the old German proverb, "The good [only as compared with paganism in this case] is a great foe to the better"—that is, by excluding the better.

And now our summing up, for this series of articles, is this: After a century's struggle of exploration—illumed by the names of Bruce, Park, Burckhardt, Tuckey, Denham, and Clapperton, the Landers, Barth, Nachtigal, Burton, and Speke, Petherick, Baker, Schweinfurth, Moffat, Livingstone, Cameron, Stanley, Junker, Grenfell, and many others—a century of glorious achievement, the mighty problem is at last virtually solved, and Africa is no longer an unknown world. Being solved, instead of Alpine ice and pathless deserts, one of the vastest fertile expanses on the globe is revealed as the curtain of ages rises; one of earth's noblest seats for future empire. The mountain rims, east and west, though somewhat arid, are tractable to culture; and, like a mighty molding, they frame round a realm which needs only the finishing touches of art to the colossal outlines of nature to make it a paradise of the world. Over this realm are now spread from 150,000,000

to 175,000,000 of people; not like the prehistoric Europeans, the American Indians, or the Australians, so intractably and constitutionally savage that their only possible destiny in the presence of superior races is to be "civilized off from the face of the earth," but races capable of rapidly forming part—and, when Christianized, the *main* part—of a great, new, and powerful race-dominion over at least their own continent. We see, too, that the religion nearest to their own level, with its one great monotheistic truth, combines also so many errors of teaching and practice that, as already proved by its results, it cannot there (as it never has anywhere) work out a great salvation for man. And now we are seeing that wherever Christianity has been pure, and fairly presented, it has already begun the great uplifting, as in South Africa, in Liberia, in the good work of black Bishop Crowther at the Niger-Benué junction, in the recent mission fields in Uganda and on the Nyassa, and lastly, in the already marvelous success of the Baptist missions in the Congo basin. Dr. Blyden, with hundreds of other philanthropists, thinks that the providential design of the enslavement of the African in America was to make him, in time, the apostle of his native Africa. Dr. Blyden objects to the present European movement on the Congo. He prophesies its failure on his page 275, and on page 356 says: "And if the present attempt of Europeans to take possession of the vast regions of the Congo could succeed, but happily it cannot," etc.! His race feeling is so strong that he seems to prefer Islam when taught by blacks to Christianity when brought by whites—though he may well oppose the rum! He thinks the American Negro must be colonized in Africa and become its apostle there, until a native Church rises up and educates its own apostles, as the native Islam of the Soudan does already. But who is to compel the American Negro to leave the land where, now his own master, he prefers to stay and develop (as he has a right to, if he so chooses), Dr. Blyden does not say.

But with all sincerity of respect for those who hold this view, and for the American Negro, who is doing magnificent things for himself, we cannot accept either its facts or its faith. All history shows that only races of high and inbred civilization, intellectual and moral, can stand the moral strain of the

presence and opportunities of surrounding heathenism, especially of barbarous paganism, and not succumb to that strain. The American Negro is not free and strong enough in soul yet, not far enough removed from the effects of his own late servitude, not sure enough of himself yet, to be trusted or to trust himself, in any great numbers, on the slippery edge of the moral mire-hole of unrestrained paganism. It takes the moral stuff of men whose very race-stock has been through the purifying fires and under the compacting hammers of ages of Christian discipline to make the best material for great missionaries. The American African needs the school of liberty, manhood, culture, and religion in America a little longer, and he knows it, and is doing gloriously in it. The native African, born free, "every man a king," as the Manyuema people told Livingstone they were, such men, converted and educated in the equality and superiority of their own countries, may soon develop the stamina to become flaming apostles and great ecclesiastics in their own country. The martyr spirit of those already converted shows the stuff on which the future Church of Africa can be built. And by and by the American Negro, better matured and cultured than most are now, can go to Africa as the foreign professor comes from Europe to America, to find a school prepared for his higher instruction, which he brings from older seats of culture. But at present he neither much wishes to go to Africa as a missionary, nor does the African native want him. Bishop William Taylor informed the writer, while this article was unfinished, that he had found only one or two native chiefs yet who were willing to have black teachers, from America or elsewhere, sent them. They almost invariably stipulate that their teachers and preachers shall be white men; and the white man gets along more smoothly and more economically, and gets acclimated just as easily as the imported Negro. This then remains: The white man, bringing the white woman with him, must apostle Africa until native apostles are raised up. This is just the theory on which our heroic Bishop William Taylor is now leading his invading army of clerical and industrial missionaries—nearly all whites—into the heart of the "Dark Continent."

But the Gospel and the school are already raising up hundreds of promising converts, and terrible persecutions are bringing

forth fire-tested martyrs by scores. In Uganda King M'Tesa, the friend of Speke and Stanley, and by whom Christians were protected, died on October 10, 1884, aged forty-seven, having reigned twenty-seven years. King Mwanga, his successor, has, under Moslem inspiration, proved himself as bloody a persecutor as history records. Bishop Hannington was deliberately assassinated by his order, and thirty-two native Christians were massacred in one lot, and the missionaries driven out of Uganda; and yet the native Christianity not only still lives, but is secretly spreading all the time among the Waganda.* The Bible and hymns are being printed in Kiganda, and the people gather secretly by night to learn to read God's word in their own tongue. On the Congo the Baptists at Stanley Pool are printing the Bible in Bantu, and at more than one station converts are being made by scores and hundreds, with but little persecution from pagans, and no Moslems there. God is marvelously raising up men and movements that are to take this inland world for Christ. But it must be done by evangelical Protestantism. Catholic Jesuitism is also there—on the west coast and on the Congo—but it shows its un-Christly spirit by not only selling imported rum to the natives, but by actually having at least one extensive distillery of its own, for making rum from mangoes, and so saving the importer's profits for itself. And this as Christian missionary work! Surely more Crowthers and Hanningtons and Grenfells and Taylors are needed, for rum and Rome have joined hands in Africa as well as in America. But Christ shall reign there as everywhere else, and Africa shall be one of his crown-jewels erelong.

GEO. LANSING TAYLOR.

* U-ganda is the *country*, Wa-ganda the *people*, and Ki-ganda the *language, manners, customs*, etc.; as we use the word *English* adjectively. These same prefixes, with euphonic variations, extend through a great range of cognate languages in Central Africa, among the whole Bantu stock.

Art. IV.—DESCARTES.

The life of scarcely any other philosopher, superficially regarded, seems so incoherent as that of Descartes. Sprung from an aristocratic old French family, he left the famous Jesuit school of La Flèche (in 1612) to amuse himself with the frivolities of the most fashionable society in Paris. Apparently as gay for a time as any of his associates, he suddenly vanished, and none of his friends, not even his family, knew where he was. He had retired to an out-of-the-way house in a suburb, where he lived two years in complete solitude, when one of his friends chanced to meet him on the street. Then he resolved to try life as a soldier. After four years of service—two under Maurice of Nassau, and two in the Bavarian army—he gave up military life and spent eight years in traveling. At the expiration of this period he determined to live in solitude and devote himself to study, and with this end in view he went to Holland (1629), where he lived for the next twenty years, changing his residence twenty-seven times in order to conceal himself from his friends.

Gallant, soldier, traveler, recluse, and student—what a medley such a life appears to be! But from the right point of view all these inconsistencies melt away into a perfectly symmetrical, harmonious whole. The supreme purpose to which his life was devoted, with almost ideal consistency, was the purpose of self-instruction. Educated in one of the best schools of Europe, he found himself at the close of the course of study involved in so many doubts that he realized that he had advanced no further than the discovery, at every turn, of his own ignorance. Nor had he been an idle student. He had not only completed the regular course, but he had read all the books that fell into his hands treating of such subjects as are esteemed "the most curious and rare." What was he to do, a young man whose most passionate longing was the desire for knowledge? He lived in an age in which the past was thoroughly discredited; and the worthlessness of its intellectual labors had just been brought home to him in the most vivid manner at La Flèche. Plainly, there were but two courses open to him: either he must stifle this passionate yearning for knowledge, or

he must seek truth for himself and make it the business of his life. He chose the latter; but how was he to do it? If a young American of fortune should form such a resolution he would attend the most famous institutions in the world; he would sit at the feet of the ablest instructors, taking care to call no man master in such a sense as to exclude his own best efforts to verify, or in some way justify to his reason, whatever he accepted as true. But what was Descartes to do? He had realized all he might hope for from the famous institution at La Flèche. There were libraries, but their shelves were creaking under the dreary and unprofitable discussions of scholasticism. There had been intellectual giants—a Socrates, a Plato, and an Aristotle had lived; but Descartes and his contemporaries could only see them through the distorting twilight of the Middle Ages, and seen through such a medium they seemed utterly unworthy of study. No; Columbus had just discovered a new world, but he had found it by sailing over the sea, and his example pointed out to the searcher after truth the path he must follow. Not in universities, not in libraries, but only in the book of nature could Descartes hope to find the sacred treasure; so as soon as he was old enough to act for himself he resolved to study no science except himself and "the great book of the world." And that was why he changed his mode of life so often. Society, the army, travel, life in different countries, and under various phases, were so many chapters in "the great book of the world."

J. Millet, his last biographer, thinks that the philosopher and the man of the world in the life of Descartes were two different persons, with purposes and tastes at variance with each other. Such is by no means the case. Kuno Fischer is right in maintaining that the man of the world was the instructor of the philosopher, and he might have added, that when the philosopher learned all that the man of the world had to teach him the man of the world was dismissed. Until he resolved to live in solitude for the purpose of devoting his life to study, he was a student of life and the world, and, therefore, lived as a man of the world. But he was actuated by motives entirely different from those which controlled his companions. Externally there was little or nothing to distinguish it from that of an ordinary man of the world of the more conscientious sort; but inwardly

there was the profoundest difference. Hear Descartes's own words:

> And thus, without in appearance living otherwise than those who, with no other occupation than that of spending their lives agreeably and innocently study to sever pleasure from vice, and who, that they may enjoy their leisure without *ennui*, have recourse to such pursuits as are honorable, "I was," says he, "prosecuting my design, and making greater progress in *the knowledge of truth* than I might perhaps have made had I been engaged in the perusal of books merely, or in holding converse with men of letters."

Kuno Fischer aptly compares him to Faust:

> If we represent to ourselves the profound critic and thinker in the Faust of Goethe, who struggles after truth, and after falling into a maelstrom of doubts resolves to seek it henceforth only in himself and the great book of the world, flees out of his study into the wide world, and hurriedly and adventurously roams over it without being attracted by it—and if we seek in actual life for a man corresponding to this picture, a man who has embodied all these characteristics and experienced all these conflicts and changes—we shall find no one so much like it as Descartes.*

And the resemblance between him and the author of Faust is by no means superficial. Both were spectators rather than actors in the great theater of the world; but while Descartes watched the drama of life to learn the secrets of philosophy Goethe was trying to detect the secrets of art and gather materials for his culture. They judge wrongly who count the greatest poet of Germany and the world, Shakespeare excepted, as a cold, unfeeling destroyer of woman's happiness and honor. It was not that he loved these things less, but that he loved art and his own culture more. Few have had a keener eye than he for the beauty of a perfect rose, or a more delicate appreciation of its fragrance. But if its beauty concealed a secret he could crush it remorselessly. And since love and trust and devotion and purity and honor hid the secret of a remorseful soul, he destroyed them as ruthlessly as the vivisectionist exposes the nerves and muscles of his quivering victim with his cold, keen steel. Fortunately for his associates, the dominant purpose of Descartes was not so antagonistic to the requirements of morality. But he was not less loyal to it. In truth, history tells us of no more typical a philosopher, a lover of

* *Geschichte der neuern Philosophie.*

knowledge, a searcher after truth for its own sake, than Descartes. Like the other great men who laid the foundations of modern philosophy, Descartes's studies were not the labors of a professorship, the means of a livelihood;* but, unlike them, his studies were pursued for the satisfaction of no practical impulse, and in the interests of no philanthropic ideal. Bacon's great interest in the theory of induction was based on the belief that a proper study of nature would greatly increase man's power. Locke's famous essay resulted from an attempt to lay the foundation of ethics. Berkeley's essays were consistent parts of a life given with enthusiastic devotion to the service of God and his fellow-men, written as they were to confute materialism and atheism and prepare the way for true morality and religion; even Spinoza, paradoxical as it may seem, began the studies which resulted in one of the coldest, most paralyzing philosophies ever coined by human brain, in the interests of his moral nature, with the desire to learn what is really good and noble in life. Not so with Descartes. The Princess Elizabeth, daughter of the exiled king of Bohemia, and one of his most intimate friends, requested him to write an essay on education; but he had three excellent reasons for postponing this work to a more convenient season that never came. Among his numerous publications not a line can be found on any subject not purely theoretical and in the interests of theory. He lived in an age when events full of significance for the future of the race were happening all over Europe. In Germany, Protestantism and Catholicism were having a life-and-death struggle in the "Thirty Years' War;" Charles I. and his Parliament were fighting out the question of the future of English liberties; absolutism was inflicting mortal wounds on constitutional government in France, and laying the foundations of that despotism that resulted in the most terrible revolution known to history; but these things had no power to distract the attention of Descartes by any claim on his interest or his sympathy.

When he had been for seven years a student in "the great book of the world" he had detected himself in so many illusions and deceptions that he began to suspect that our whole life, with all its framework of beliefs and hopes, is but a delusion, made of the same stuff as dreams. Bent on finding as large a

* Compare Kuno Fischer's *Geschichte der neuern Philosophie*, chap. i, bk. ii, vol. i.

measure of truth as is possible to such a being as man, in such a world as the world we live in, and resolved, at all costs, to shield himself from error, he determined to accept nothing as true of which he was not so certain as to make doubt an absurdity and an impossibility. And he resolved to form the habit of regarding as false every thing that he was not absolutely certain of, that he might neutralize that vicious habit of believing in the absence of evidence, of which he was conscious that he had been so often the victim. But well aware that action is impossible without belief, and that, therefore, for practical purposes some provisional belief, at least, must be accepted, he formed a provisory code of morals composed of the four following maxims:

The first was to obey the laws and customs of my country, adhering firmly to the faith in which, by the grace of God, I had been educated from my childhood, and regulating my conduct in every other matter according to the most moderate opinions, and the farthest removed from extremes which should happen to be adopted in practice with general consent of the most judicious of those among whom I might be living. My second maxim was, to be as firm and resolute in my actions as I was able, and not to adhere less steadfastly to the most doubtful opinions, when once adopted, than if they had been highly certain. My third maxim was, to endeavor always to conquer myself rather than fortune, and change my desires rather than the order of the world, and in general accustom myself to the persuasion that except our own thoughts there is nothing absolutely in our power; so that when we have done our best in respect of things external to us, all wherein we fail of success is to be held, as regards us, absolutely impossible. In fine, to conclude this mode of morals, I thought of reviewing the different occupations of men in this life with a view of making choice of the best. And without wishing to offer any remarks on the employments of others, I may state that it was my conviction that I could not do better than continue in that in which I was engaged, namely, in devoting my whole life to the culture of my reason, and in making the greatest progress I was able in the knowledge of the truth.

To this last maxim he adhered with almost ideal devotion. Forgetting all other things, he could truthfully say, "This one thing I do."

In accordance with his first maxim, he lived and died a member of the Catholic Church. We have no reason to believe that he accepted its doctrines in any other sense than as part of his "provisory code of morals." All the evidence in our posses-

sion tends to establish the contrary. In the course of a conversation with the famous and scholarly Anna Maria Schurmann, he expressed such opinions concerning the biblical account of creation that she regarded him ever after as a "profane man" and an ungodly philosopher. And the absence of evidence that he ever thought out a *Grammar of Assent* is worthy of consideration. The claim of the Catholic Church to be the absolutely certain oracle of God is one that Descartes could not lightly assent to. He knew—no man better—the meaning of absolute certainty. It was to find it that he turned himself adrift at the age of three-and-twenty, destitute of all beliefs except a merely "provisory code of morals." And that a man, quite the intellectual equal of Cardinal Newman, should have gone through an elaborate process of reasoning parallel with the *Grammar of Assent* and left no record of it, is to my mind quite improbable. If it be true that his Catholicism was merely a part of his "provisory code," we have no reason to be surprised that he did not disavow it when he had developed his philosophy to such an extent as to be able to dispense with merely provisional beliefs. His supreme purpose, we have seen, was the culture of his reason and the attainment of truth. His natural course, therefore, was so to arrange his life as to approximate most closely to his ideal. He was cautious even to timidity. Add to this, that he required perfect quiet for the concentration of his thoughts, entire freedom from annoyance and interruption, and it will be evident that his Catholicism—even though merely nominal—was a logical corollary from his purpose to make philosophy *the* business of his life, to make every thing subordinate to the cultivation of his reason. To have left the Church of his family would have been to bring upon himself the hatred and persecution of the most powerful organization in the world, and that would have made the realization of his ideal impossible.

The first question in the order both of logic and importance in considering any philosophical system is, the question of *method*. And this is especially true of the philosophy of Descartes. Descartes made method a subject of special investigation, and repeatedly declared that his method was his most important discovery, the discovery upon which all the rest depended. Now, what is meant by method in philosophy? What question does the theory of method seek to answer?

Perhaps the following is the most general form in which the question can be stated: What path must the mind follow in order to reach truth and avoid error? We are all certain that our neighbors are mistaken in many of their opinions, and it is the business of the theory of method to map out the course that the mind must take in order to avoid their mistakes, and, indeed, all others. At the first glance it might seem as if the spheres of the theory of method and logic are identical; but it is not so. Logic, as usually conceived, is the part of which the theory of method is the whole. Deductive logic points out the path the mind must follow in order to avoid drawing erroneous inferences from given premises. Question deductive logic as to the truth of its premises and it is silent, or rather it answers by saying that it is no part of its duty or business to answer such questions by referring the questioner to other sciences. Now the theory of method seeks to tell us not only how we may reason correctly from given premises, but how we may obtain true premises. All the sciences, inductive as well as deductive, are based on certain facts and principles, the truth of which can only be guaranteed by the theory of method. There is a point of view from which inductive logic is identical with the theory of method. Logic is the science of inference, and if, as J. S. Mill maintained, all inference is inductive, and if all that we know apart from inference are the particular facts of experience, the true science of inference will be the true theory of method. From the point of view of empiricism, whatever I believe that is not a fact of present consciousness is an inference, and logic must tell me whether that inference is true. But from the point of view of transcendentalism the theory of method is divided into three parts. Transcendentalists believe that we know immediately and uninferentially not only the facts of present consciousness, but certain extra-conscious, non-mental facts. What are they? By what means shall we learn them? What are their characteristics? The answer to these questions forms the first part of the theory of method from the point of view of transcendentalism, and deductive and inductive logic the second and third. In brief, it is that body of investigations which seeks to throw a bridge across the chasm between facts of consciousness and all extra-conscious, non-mental facts, whether known uninferentially, as

the intuitions of the transcendentalist, or inferentially, as all knowledge according to the empiricist.

The title of the *Discourse on Method* would naturally lead one to expect to find an exposition of Descartes's theory of method. It is rather another *Apologia pro mia vita*—a sort of intellectual autobiography, and account of the various wanderings and meanderings of his mind in his search after truth. The traveler in a new country always finds, after reaching a certain point, that he did not take the most direct route to it. Here a river too deep to ford, there a mountain too steep to climb, and often ignorance of the right direction, made his course winding and circuitous. But when he has made a map of the country, bridged over the rivers, and hewn paths across the mountains, another can take the most direct route. In like manner, an explorer in the boundless continent of truth always finds that he has not taken the most direct line to any given point. His mind has gone on fruitless errands in this direction and that, but when once he has made the journey he can map out the country so that another can take the direct lines. Descartes did not see fit to do that. As important as he deemed the subject of method, he did not expound the theory of it. Fortunately, however, a careful student of his writings has no difficulty in learning what his theory was.

The type of Descartes's method was furnished by mathematics, and it was, therefore, deductive. Descartes concluded at an early age that all the obscurities and uncertainties in the other sciences were due to their not following the example of mathematics.

> The long chains of simple and easy reasonings by means of which geometers are accustomed to reach the conclusions of their most difficult demonstrations, had led me to imagine that all things to the knowledge of which man is competent are mutually connected in the same way, and that there is nothing so far removed from us as to be beyond our reach, or so hidden that we cannot discover it, provided only we abstain from accepting the false for the true, and always preserve in our thoughts the order necessary for the deduction of one truth from another.*

Mathematics begins with perfectly simple and evident truths, so simple and evident that no one can doubt them. Accordingly, Descartes resolved to accept nothing as true that he did

* *Discourse on Method*, Veitch's translation, p. 19.

"not clearly know to be such," and to commence with objects the "simplest and easiest to know," that he might "ascend by little and little, and, as it were, step by step, to the knowledge of the more complex."

But what are the simplest and easiest objects to know? What is it that I clearly know to be true? The things vouched for by the senses, some one will answer; the things that I see, hear, smell, touch, and taste. But, after all, is the testimony of the senses so sure that no one can doubt them? Do they not sometimes deceive me? Do they not report the straight stick as crooked in the water, the square tower as round in the distance, etc.? The reply that these errors are only occasional, that their testimony is generally correct, Descartes answers by asking How any can know this! Has any one a special set of senses that never deceive him by means of which he can corroborate the testimony of those we have found in error?

But though this cold, Mephistophelian doubt transforms the material world into a mere "appearance," one little piece of it seems to retain its solid substantiality. Though all the rest of the world be but the vision of a dream, surely I am face to face with a little piece of substantial reality in my own body. But, after all, do I *know* this? Do I see my body more plainly than I do what I call my table? Am I more plainly conscious of pain in my hand than I sometimes am in my amputated leg? And as it is surely a delusion that I feel pain in a limb that I lost years ago, is it any more certain that I have a hand, a body, at this moment? Were I bodiless would it be absolutely impossible for Omnipotence to cause in me such experiences as I now have? And is my body any more than an hypothesis to account for a certain group of these experiences? If I am in search of absolute certainty, of something that can set the boldest doubt at defiance, I am obliged to admit that my body also is but a part of that great "appearance called the world."

But though matter and all the sciences based upon it are open to doubt, one science, at any rate, is certain—the various branches of mathematics. Whatever else is doubtful, it is absolutely certain that 2 + 3 make five. "Deceive me who may, no one will ever be able to bring it about that two and three

do not make five," "or at any future time cause it to cease to be true." But upon second thought is even this quite absolutely certain? People sometimes make mistakes even in mathematics; how do I *know* that I am not created by a being who has "given me such a nature as that I should be deceived, even respecting the matters that appear to me the most evidently true?" I do *not know;* and though I have the greatest confidence in their certainty, a confidence that no reasoning can shake, yet I am obliged to admit that even here doubt is not an absurdity and an impossibility. So here I am alone, destitute of truth, and without a light to guide me to it. The world that seemed so real to my imagination has faded away, and in its stead remains only a phantom, a great "appearance." The sciences that seemed so certain have turned out to be mere will-o'-the-wisps to lead me into error and delusion. What pilgrimage shall I make to find the Mecca of truth? If I only had a little bit of truth, a single piece of absolute certainty, I should have great hopes. Archimedes said that he could move the world if only he could find a fulcrum for his lever; and I, if I had even one true proposition, if I could overcome but the advanced guard of truth, should have great hopes that I might storm her citadel and make it mine. Ah, now I see a glimmering light! Though every thing that I have believed is a mere delusion, yet I must *be* in order to be deluded. Though the material world which I seem to hear and touch and taste and smell and see is but the product of a disordered imagination, yet I *know* with irresistible, infallible, absolute certainty that I *seem* to hear and touch and taste and smell and see it, and that I who seem to have these experiences *am*. Deceive me who will, even omnipotence cannot bring it about that I am not while I think. "*Cogito, ergo sum.*" Thus Descartes obtained his first certainty.

It will perhaps serve to put the nature and grounds of this truth in a clearer light if we consider an objection brought against it by Professor Huxley:

> The "therefore" has no business there. The "I am" is assumed in the "I think," which is simply another way of saying "I am thinking." And, in the second place, "I think" is not one simple proposition, but three distinct assertions rolled into one. The first of these is, "*Something called I exists;*" the second is, "*Something*

called thought exists;" and the third is, "*The thought is the result of the action of the I.*" The only one of these propositions which can stand the Cartesian test of certainty is the second. It cannot be doubted, for the very doubt is an existent thought. But the first and third, whether true or not, may be doubted, and have been doubted; for the asserter may be asked, How do you know that thought is not self-existent, or that a given thought is not the effect of its antecedent thought, or of some external power?*

Now, it appears to me that this criticism is a mere form of words, and that the effort to translate it into thoughts shows its complete absurdity. We are always disposed to believe that different words imply different thoughts, and because the proposition, *Something called thought exists*, differs from the proposition, *Something called I exists*, we imagine they represent different facts. But attempt to make the difference clear to consciousness, attempt to leave the element corresponding to the personal pronoun out of the judgment as well as out of the proposition that purports to express it, and it will be evident that "*Something called thought exists*" either means the same as "*Something called I (or you or he) exists*," or it means nothing at all. A thought that is not my thought or your thought or his thought is a meaningless absurdity, as unthinkable as a one-ended stick. The perception of relations is a complete refutation of this criticism of Descartes's first truth. If one man sees *A* and another *B* they cannot compare them. Why? Because *A* and *B* meet in no common point. They lack the unity that results from their being the states of consciousness of *one and the same thinker*. The same I that sees *A* must see *B* before any comparison is possible. I think, therefore, that we may assume that Descartes's first proposition is absolutely certain, so certain as to make doubt an absurdity and an impossibility.

But what am I? In what does my proper essence consist? Is my body I? That cannot be, for I do not yet know that I have a body. The existence of the material world, and, with it, of my body, is just as uncertain as before, and it cannot be that a thing whose existence is in absolute uncertainty can be the essence of myself, of whose existence I am absolutely certain. What, then, am I? Though I can imagine myself without a body and yet as existing, I cannot conceive myself as existing without thought. When I cease to think, though all the other

* *Lay Sermons*, "Descartes," p. 328.

objects which I have ever imagined in reality exist, I have no reason to believe that I exist. I thence conclude that I am a substance whose whole essence or nature "consists only in thinking, and which, that it may exist, has need of no place, nor is dependent on any material thing; so that 'I,' that is to say, the mind by which I am what I am, is wholly distinct from the body, and is even more easily known than the latter, and is such that, although the latter were not, it would still continue to be."

I am certain [then] that I am a thinking thing; but do I not therefore likewise know what is required to render me certain of a truth? In this first knowledge, doubtless, there is nothing that gives me assurance of its truth except the clear and distinct perception of what I affirm, which would not, indeed, be sufficient to give me the assurance that what I say is true, if it could ever happen that any thing I thus clearly and distinctly perceived should prove false; and accordingly it seems to me that I may now take as a general rule that all that is very clearly and distinctly apprehended (conceived) is true.*

The attentive reader will perceive that the last sentence is the key to the Cartesian philosophy. It is no less than Descartes's test of truth. That is the bridge which Descartes throws across the chasm between facts of consciousness and all extra-conscious, non-mental facts. It is, in short, a concise statement of his theory of method. One would naturally expect that a proposition of such vital importance would have received the fullest explanation and the amplest illustration. As every thing else is made to depend on it, one would expect to find it guaranteed with the utmost possible care, and stated so clearly as to be free from every ambiguity. Such expectations are doomed to disappointment. The sentence above quoted contains all that can be found by way of guaranty of his test of truth in Descartes's writings: "and, accordingly, it seems to me that I may now take as a general rule that all that is clearly and distinctly apprehended (conceived) is true." And the following sentence is his only explanation of its meaning:

I call that clear which is present and manifest to the mind giving attention to it, just as we are said clearly to see objects when, being present to the eye looking on, they stimulate it with sufficient force, and it is disposed to regard them; but the distinct is

* *Discourse on Method*, vol. iii., Veitch's translation, pp. 115, 116.

that which is so precise and different from all other objects as to comprehend in itself only what is clear; [or, as he puts it in another passage,] the distinct is that which appears manifestly to him who considers it as he ought.*

This definition amounts to the statement that the clear is that which is present and manifest to the attentive mind, and the distinct is that which appears manifestly to him who considers it as he ought. But if that is what Descartes meant, what is the difference between clear and distinct? And what does "present to the mind" mean? Does it mean that of which the mind is conscious? If so, our test of truth does not take us beyond consciousness, and the chasm between consciousness and extra-conscious, non-mental facts is not bridged over, and the problem of the theory of method is not solved. And what does "manifest" mean? Does it mean, as the context would suggest, that which is so self-evident as to make doubt an absurdity and an impossibility? If so, our test of truth turns out to be, That which is self-evident is true. In truth, whatever Descartes meant, that is all which a perfectly logical procedure gave him the right to say. He had rejected all his beliefs in order to build on a basis of absolute or metaphysical certainty, a certainty that makes doubt an absurdity and an impossibility. He had found that when he had stripped himself of all his beliefs, left himself in intellectual nakedness, there were still thought and the thinker. Though the external world and all that he had believed in was doubtful, the doubt in it was an absolute certainty, and just as certain was the doubter. Now whence comes this certainty? Do the propositions, There is doubt, and I, the doubter, am, have certain characteristics which I perceive can only belong to absolutely certain propositions, or am I absolutely certain of them because I am conscious of them, because they are self-evident? Plainly the latter; and the reason why I clearly and distinctly perceive them is, that they are self-evident. When, therefore, Descartes said, "It seems to me I may now take as a rule that all that is clearly apprehended is true," the only thing he had a right to mean was, All that is seen to be self-evident is true. The query is, How large a system will a philosopher be able to erect who incorporates into it nothing but self-evident truths?

* *Principles*, Veitch's translation, p. 212.

Having established his own existence, and thus provided himself with a test of truth, Descartes next inquires whether he is alone in the world, or, rather, whether he *is* the world, since he cannot at this point assume the existence of any thing beyond himself. "Now I perceive clearly and distinctly that every event must have a cause, and that the cause must contain at least as much reality as the effect. For if the effect contained more reality, that excess of reality would have no cause, which is contrary to the law of causation. And this is true not only of formal, or, as we would say, objective reality, but also of ideas. The cause of our ideas must contain as much reality (at least) as the ideas they represent. For just as the mode of existing objectively" [we would say subjectively] "belongs to ideas by their peculiar nature, so likewise the mode of existing formally appertains to the causes of these ideas" [at least to the first and principal] "by their peculiar nature. To decide the question, therefore, as to whether I am alone in the world, I have only to review my ideas and ascertain whether any of them represent a greater reality than I myself possess; whether I conceive a being who contains more reality than I do. And the question is easily answered. I know that I am sad, sinful, limited in power, knowledge, etc. How could I know this if I did not have the idea of a being who is not sad, who is not sinful, who is not limited in power, knowledge, etc.? How could I know that I am an imperfect, finite being if I did not conceive the perfect and infinite God? Since, therefore, I have the idea of God, God himself must be the cause of it; therefore, God exists."

We have yet another demonstration of the existence of God. "I exist having the idea of God, and memory assures me that I existed yesterday, that for some time I have had a continuous existence. How is that possible? It does not follow that because I existed a short time ago I must exist now. Now it is perfectly clear and distinct that the conservation of a substance requires the same power as its creation. And since I am merely a thinking being, since my whole essence consists in consciousness, if a power resided in me to conserve my being from moment to moment, I should know it. But I am conscious of no such power; I therefore clearly and distinctly know that I am dependent upon some being different from myself. And

since according to the law of causation this being must possess in himself all the perfections that belong to my idea of God, it must be that God exists."

Descartes's theory of error can be briefly stated. The same arguments that led him to conclude that God exists made him regard veracity as one of his attributes. Now, it might seem at first sight that an infinitely powerful and an absolutely truthful being could not create beings that would fall into error and delusion. But upon second thoughts it is evident that there are only two ways by means of which created beings can be shielded from the possibility of error: either they must be endowed with infinite intelligence or they must have no power of choice. But the former would make them equal with God himself, and the latter would reduce them to mere machines. A free being, free to act or not to act, to believe or not to believe, with a finite understanding, must be exposed to error. But even to such beings error is not a necessity. We err because we assent to what we do not clearly and distinctly perceive, and withhold our assent from what we might clearly and distinctly perceive if we used our faculties aright. Ignorance is a necessary result of our finiteness, but error is not. But in order to avoid it we must resolutely refrain from giving our assent to what we do not clearly and distinctly perceive. Not our selfish interests, not the interests of sect or party, not our pride and love of consistency, but an absolute loyalty to the rule of clear and distinct thought must be our guide, if we would walk in the straight and narrow road of truth.

The sum of the postulates of Descartes may therefore be named self-knowledge, knowledge of God, and knowledge of the sensuous world; such knowledges having been reached by processes the most rationalistic, and affirmed in language commanding and conclusive.

J. P. Gordy.

Art. V.—THE IMAGE OF GOD.

It is sometimes trivially asserted that we can prove any thing by the Bible. This much is true, that every dogma and every heresy introduced in Christian history have been founded upon Scripture. But the word does not always teach that which man assumes as truth. We may take a detached passage or a series of texts and seem to establish a theory which the harmony of Scripture would not warrant. To discover truth we must "compare Scripture with Scripture," theory with theory, "prove all things," and "hold fast" *only* "to that which is good."

As we enter upon this discussion we find a class of texts which seem to teach that the image of God is lost, and another which assume that it is still retained by man. In the first we put:

Ephesians iv, 23, 24: Be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and . . . put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.*

Colossians iii, 9, 10: Ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.

Under the second class we place:

1 Cor. xi, 7: For a man (that is, man in general) ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he *is* (not has been or may be) the image and glory of God.

Genesis ix, 6: Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the *image of God* made he man.

Also James iii, 9, speaking of the human tongue, the inspired writer says:

Therewith bless we God,† even the Father; and therewith curse we men, which are made after the similitude of God.‡

In view of these apparently contradictory passages we find that the Christian Fathers were greatly perplexed on the subject. Theodoret confesses that he is not able to decide exactly in what this image consisted, but concedes its existence.

* "Holiness of truth."—*New Version.* "Created in holiness and true righteousness."—*Sinaitic MS.*

† "Bless we the Lord."—*Sinaitic, Alexandrine,* and *Vatican MSS.* "Bless we the Lord and Father."—*New Version.*

‡ "Likeness of God."—*New Version.*

Epiphanius thinks the thing cannot be determined.

Tertullian places it in the innate faculties of the human soul, especially in the freedom of choice between good and evil.

Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, and Leo the Great concurred, substantially, in this opinion.

Modern theologians are also divided concerning the image of God. Some, agreeing with that philosophic Jew, Philo, think that what is meant is the rational soul in its broadest sense.

Others find this image in the *dominion* of man over all the creatures of the earth; because this is mentioned in connection with the image of God in Gen. i, 26: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion," etc. According to all these theories this image still exists.

But the most popular view of modern theology is that which makes the image of God to consist in the moral perfections which we lost by the fall. There is still another class of theologians who divide the image of God into physical and moral or essential and accidental—the latter now lost, or existing in far less degree.

After a most careful investigation we believe that the phrase "image of God" is used in Scripture in more than one sense; that man to a certain extent *lost* the image of God, and in another view he still *retains* it; that all these seemingly contradictory passages of the word, and all these various opinions of holy men in the different periods of Church history, may be harmonized in this theory. Men possess the image of God in so far as they have those excellences which we conceive that God also possesses, only in a far higher degree. Some of these noble powers man still has in fullness: such as reason, spirituality, dominion over the earth. Other of these godlike powers we have lost, or possess at present in a far less degree, such as, 1. That degree of bodily health and strength which laid the foundation for the immortality of the body. 2. The moral perfections which shone so brightly in our first parents. To elaborate:

1. *God made man in the image of his spirituality.* "God is a spirit," and "there is a *spirit* in man" which comes from God.

We do not mean the principle of life. Animals possess this to perfection, and vegetables to a great extent. We mean something far more: that almost indefinable entity which can-

not die; which, once brought into being, must live as long as God himself.

We admit that, at first sight, there seems a difficulty in establishing the existence of mind, in view of our physical surroundings and associations. The anatomist exclaims in contemptuous jest, "What is *mind?*" He says, "There is *no* mind. I have dissected man's body in all its parts and I have found no place for the mind."

We answer, the mind needs no place. It cannot be contained nor estimated by physical measurements; yet we can prove its existence as well as we can that of matter.

What is matter *per se?* No man can answer. The materialist points us to its *qualities*, and affirms that it is that which possesses extension, figure, divisibility, impenetrability, porosity, compressibility, etc.; and he conceives that beneath all these qualities there is a substratum which he calls *matter.*

So we would point him to the various *phenomena* of *mind*, which may be as clearly defined and are as thoroughly manifest in operation as the phenomena of matter. All acknowledge the power as well as the existence of thought, feeling, volition, and beneath these we must allow that there is a *substratum.* This we call *mind;* and we reach this conclusion by the same logical process that decided the existence—the necessary existence in thought—of the substratum, matter.

Here we are met with the thought that man's higher intellect comes as a natural consequence of his higher physical organization. Whatever may have been his origin, or the process of his development as a material structure, the manifestations of intelligence in man are different not only in degree but *in kind* from those of the other earthly creatures.

There is a clear distinction between mind (rational intelligence) and instinct. The most critical observation of scientists establishes the following facts:

1. Instinct belongs to the body. Though wonderful in many of its operations, in all its processes it relates exclusively to the wants and uses of the body. Mind belongs not to the body. The body is not its house—merely its prison. Reason rises on sublimest wings. It may, by its intense activity, deplete and disorganize the poor physical instrument through which it is

compelled to act. The intensity of instinct is never so great as to affect the body in the slightest degree.

2. Instinct is complete, in most instances, at birth. The brute acquires no new power if it should live many years. Nor do the highest physical organizations among brutes, as, for instance, the largest and best-formed gorillas, gain any increasing intelligence with the progress of ages. The same tricks taught to animals two thousand years ago are the things to which they are trained now. Mind is constantly advancing in the individual and race history.

3. Instinctive memory, in every case thus far investigated, depends upon impressions produced by external causes, and renewed by their repetition. Rational memory, though sometimes acting apparently in the same way, is *independent* of sense, and relates chiefly to acquirements made through reflection.

4. Instinctive love, so highly lauded by some naturalists, ceases as soon as the offspring can provide for itself. Human love not only holds to the child, but runs out through all the ramifications of friendship and blood. The rational mother not only loves her son, but his wife and his children and their children. Nor is that all. It reaches beyond this life, and longs for and pictures the reunions and blissful associations of the upper and spiritual existence. Reason, in all ages, has differed from instinct, because in all its processes it has had reference to distant ages and has acted on that which is eternal. In the literature of all nations there are longings for immortality. The intellect, that wonderful power whereby we make perceptions of the external and internal phenomena of our existence; the judgment, by which we compare concept with concept, and pronounce opinion; memory, which stores away and recalls with vividness and beauty the objects of past conception; imagination, whereby we soar into all the possibilities of the future; the sensibilities, those delicate chords upon which the orator plays with such consummate skill; and the will, that sits enthroned as monarch over all—these are godlike powers, resemble and reflect divinity, and indicate our celestial origin.

II. *God made man in the image of his dominion.* God is the great governor, and he holds all things in his hands. Man, his child, was intended to be a monarch, and each generation makes him more and more the master of the world. In earliest

times he reduced to domestication the wild animals of the plain and the beasts of the forest, making them his willing servants. In later ages he laid hold of inert materials—became an architect and an artist. The wonderful pyramids of Egypt, the colossal works of art, the ruins of which are found all along the valley of the Nile, consisting of cities, temples, obelisks, and still later the magnificent temples, theaters, tombs, triumphal arches of Greece, Rome, India, bear witness to man's triumphs in imitation of that greatest combiner of materials—the Builder of the world. Man bridges the rivers, tunnels the mountains, faces the ocean storm, and rides in triumph over its foaming billows, encompassing the globe in his commercial exploits and search for wonders. Man exercises dominion over the forces of nature. He makes the wind and water his servants, to do his lifting, pumping, grinding, and even become the means of his locomotion. Most brilliant and wonderful of all the forces of the air is that found in the lightning flash. Man has caught this and used it in various ways, in different contrivances, until we can scarcely imagine to what, in time, it may not be applied. Not satisfied with the present and the possibilities of the future, man uncovers the rocks and reads their history. He names and classifies their strata, describes the various forms of life, terrestrial and marine, vegetable and animal; tells of the dynamic forces acting upon matter, and discovers the position and character of the land masses and the waters in the far-distant ages of the past. Man unravels the mysteries of terrestrial physics, and announces the laws of attraction and repulsion, of wind and wave. By the science of modern chemistry, and especially since the invention of the spectroscope, man is learning rapidly of the composition of the earth. He analyzes and combines, imitates and reproduces the minerals of nature. By the invention of the microscope man has opened to inspection a world of life that had ever been hidden from his gaze. Man points his telescope to the heavens, finds the position, motion, size, density, and composition of the planetary and stellar bodies, and resolves the nebulous masses into stars. He discovers the laws by which all the worlds in space are governed, and calculates with exactness concerning their conjunctions and orbital changes in the far-away past and in the remote cycles of the future. In all these things man imitates and

approaches his Almighty Father — the Creator, Upholder, Thinker, and *Master* of the universe. These are some of the powers man still possesses.

Concerning those which were lost by the fall, we affirm that they may *all* be *recovered through Christ.* Let us specify some of these:

I. *We may regain the holy nature.* The vile disease that rankles in us may be purged away by the baptism of fire, and on our souls there may be sprinkled that "blood which cleanseth from all sin." Holiness, the brightest gem in God's crown of glory, the grandest attribute of divinity, may be possessed by man.

God has so constituted our nature that we must be holy to be happy and to serve the grand plans of our existence. When man fell and lost the pure and holy nature, God provided for its perfect restoration in all its fullness and grandeur as possessed by Adam.

Without holiness all is vain. We may master all languages, learn all sciences, practice all arts, and yet our lives be worthless, because ungodlike in that most essential feature. For it is holiness that makes all other attributes of our nature to shine like brilliant stars. It is the diamond of man's soul—the golden ornament. It is the electric light of our spiritual existence, making all around bright and beautiful.

II. *We may regain the immortality of the body.** Death came into the world by sin; but through Christ man becomes *all immortal.* Job, sitting in the ashes and clothed in sackcloth, could look through the dim vistas of the future and see this, as one of the benefits of Christ's coming, as he cried out in joyful expectation, "Though worms destroy this body, yet in *my flesh* shall I see God." Not the same atoms of carbon and nitrogen, nor the same molecules of water, for, in the process of decomposition, these shall disappear and enter and re-enter other organic forms. These, indeed, we are changing constantly in this earthly life, and every few years we possess an entirely new chemical composition. Yet there is something that, from year to year, preserves and establishes identity; but it is such a subtile something that we can scarcely define it.

* This doctrine is not scientifically tenable, and in our judgment lacks the support of the Scriptures.—EDITOR.

In a popular article it is not necessary that we enter into the philosophical explanation. The common thought of mankind acknowledges the fact.

A few weeks ago I met a dear friend that I had not seen for twenty-two years, yet I knew him, and he recognized me. But, according to science, we had eliminated three or more different bodies in that time. Yet no one could convince either of us that we did not each retain all the elements necessary to establish identity. God had done this, and he is the "same yesterday, to-day, and forever." The same great Chemist, whose laboratory is the whole of material nature, can preserve identity in the earth as well as on its surface, in the changes of the body in the grave as in the changes before it reaches the tomb. Belief in his omnipresence, omnipotence, and in the promises of his word, give us the ground for this conclusion. I know that this is the same person that nestled in love on my mother's breast and bowed in sorrow o'er her dying bed. These eyes, in childish mirthfulness, looked up into her smiling face and shed their waters at her grave; and with the same organs of vision, refined and brightened, I shall detect her form among the angels of the heavenly choirs; and then the same arms that carried me as a helpless infant shall be reached forth to clasp me again to her loving heart.

The same body of Jesus that slept soundly in the storm on the blue, tossing waves of Galilee—that sat, tired, hungry and thirsty by the well of Sychar—now sits in glory at the right hand of God, no more to be tired and require sleep, no more to be hungry and thirsty, no more to suffer pain and anguish; yet it is the *same* body, glorified and immortal. Christ is the "first fruits of the resurrection," and all who sleep in him shall be raised to the same immortality of existence. By Almighty power these bodies are to be refined from their grosser elements, "the mortal shall become spiritual," the charcoal of this life is to be the diamond of the next, yet it is to be the same body in appearance and in all essential characteristics.

III. Through Christ we may regain the *fellowship* of *God* and of *angels*, that which Adam enjoyed in Eden. This we shall enjoy to its highest condition in the heavenly world; but may there not be a foretaste here?

1. Are we not, to some extent, influenced by blessed spirits which we cannot see? The world has always been full of spiritual agency. In all the ages angels have flown on messages of love. "Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?" Does not the apostle tell us that we are surrounded by a "cloud of witnesses," who are interested in our efforts to win the race? The dead! O, where are they? Not shut up in the cold and narrow house, but roving in beauty o'er the fields of love and glory. We cannot see their bright faces, beaming with the glory of God. We cannot hear their sweet voices, rich with the melody of heaven, yet ofttimes we may feel that "angels are hovering round." Sometimes a telegram comes over unseen wires—a thought leaps into the soul that must have entered by an angel whisper. If our eyes were not mere physical organs, or if they could be anointed like those of the prophet of old, they might see the hills and valleys filled with the hosts of the Lord, and our homes and churches made heavenly by the presence of the beautiful and the blest. We know not how much of heaven there may be on earth.

2. We may, through Christ, have communion with the "Father of spirits," whose ear is ever open to our cry. Trials may come. The rosy hue of health may fade from the cheek, and the body be racked with pain. Fortune may smile no more, and our treasures take wings and fly away. The tenderest friendships may be severed and the fondest hopes be buried, but at all times we may call upon him and find abundant grace and strength. He is the grandest and most beneficial companion. He pardons our sins, regenerates our nature, leads us into all truth. Like Enoch, we may *walk* with him; like Abraham, become his *friend.* Yea, more; through Christ we may cry, "Abba, Father!"—thou *art* our father. We are images of thine, made after thy likeness. From thy nature we have inherited wonderful immortal powers. But greatest of all is the power to be like thee in *character*, in all the beauty of holiness. O, come in thy majesty, lift us higher, nearer to thine own great heart of love! Then shall thine image shine more brightly through our nature, and all shall praise thee for thy goodness and thy power. EDWARD THOMSON.

Art. VI.—THE PROBLEM OF CITY EVANGELIZATION.

The century in which we live has witnessed a marvelous increase both in the number and size of the cities of the world. It has been aptly styled, "The Age of Great Cities." At the beginning of this century there was not a city in all Christendom that could boast of having a million inhabitants; now there is scarcely a great country in the world that does not have within its borders one or more cities that count their population by the million. London, that sits as queen among the cities of the world, according to the last census, in 1881, had nearly four million inhabitants, and every year adds 125,000 more to that enormous sum. In 1800 there were only six cities in the United States whose population exceeded 6,000 each; now we have more than three hundred such cities. Eighty-eight years ago the urban population comprised only one twenty-fifth of our people; now at least one fourth of our population dwells in cities. In the last one hundred years, while the population of the country at large increased fifteenfold, that of our cities increased ninetyfold. At the present time, while our country is growing in population at a rate unparalleled among the nations of the earth, our cities are increasing in inhabitants much more rapidly than the rural districts. New York adds 50,000 to its population every year, Chicago 35,000, and many others of our cities count their annual increase by tens of thousands.

This rapid growth of cities is not confined to our own country. Two thirds of the population of England and Wales dwell in cities, and the annual increase of their city population doubles in ratio that of the country. The urban population of Germany is increasing about twice as rapidly as the rural districts. This is likewise true of the towns and cities of Denmark. Within the last decade the increase of population of the cities of Sweden has been four times as great as in the country; while in the last two decades the four chief cities of Russia have doubled in population. The rapid rate of increase in the population of cities is not confined to those countries whose inhabitants are steadily increasing, but is also manifest in France, where the population is almost stationary, and even in Ireland, where the population is decreasing. It is very evi-

dent, from these facts, that in our modern civilization forces of a social and industrial character are at work which annually impel or compel a continually increasing portion of the population of any country to concentrate in cities; so that while the present is the age of great cities, the future bids fair to be the age of greater ones.

While, from a secular stand-point, the recent phenomenal growth of the cities of the world may seem to indicate great material prosperity and to augur well for the future of our civilization, yet from a social and moral point of view it has an alarming significance, and cannot fail to constitute a source of anxiety to every thoughtful person who has the welfare of his country or nation at heart. For while cities are centers of trade, wealth, commerce, and culture, they are also centers of crime and corruption. It was for this reason that Thomas Jefferson, one of our greatest statesmen, in his day styled them "great sores on the body politic;" and for the same reason they have been more recently designated as "the plague-spots of modern society." It is a well-known saying that "God made the country, but man made the town;" and it cannot be denied that the city partakes in large degree of the deep, dark depravity of its maker. Evils that are scarcely known in the country flourish with luxuriant tropical growth in cities; while vices that elsewhere exist in a feeble state, or hide themselves for very shame, wax wanton with vigor, and walk with shameless, brazen front, in open day, along the highways of the great centers of population. Hence cities every-where have become the strongholds of impiety, irreligion, infidelity, atheism, anarchism, intemperance, gambling, and sensuality in all its most loathsome forms. In them the "dangerous classes"—the enemies of law and social order—congregate, and breed moral pestilence and political and social revolution. On every hand the hosts of the kingdom of darkness are marshaled in full force, and their name is Legion.

How these godless multitudes that throng our cities may be savingly reached by the power of the Gospel and thoroughly evangelized, is the most serious and perplexing problem that confronts the Church of to-day in the home field. It is also a problem of the most vital importance, because it involves the future welfare of the Church and the triumph of Christ's

kingdom upon earth. In all great military contests cities have always been the chief strategic points, for the possession of which opposing armies have contended, and the success or failure of the campaign has depended on holding or losing possession of such cities. For cities are centers of power, and as such have always dominated the countries in which they are situated. What is true of them in the realm of things material and physical is also true in the realm of the moral and spiritual. The Master indicated their importance to the success of his cause when he directed his disciples to begin the work of evangelizing the world at Jerusalem. In that city the Gospel won its first and most marvelous triumph, and then began to radiate from that urban center into the surrounding country. When the Apostle Paul went forth on his great mission to the Gentiles, under the direction and guidance of the Holy Spirit, he confined his work almost exclusively to the cities of the countries in which he labored. Each of the cities where Christian churches were established under his ministry became religious centers for the propagation of the new faith. How effectual this method of propagandism was, the rapid progress made by the primitive Church clearly shows. So to-day it is of prime importance for the Church to possess and hold the cities of the world, and to cause Christian sentiment to become paramount in them; for it is useless to expect that Christianity can maintain its grasp on any country for any great length of time, if it loses its hold upon the cities; and we shall look in vain for the millennial dawn as long as the masses that congregate in great cities are hostile or indifferent to the religion of Jesus Christ.

When we contemplate the magnificent and costly churches that all denominations possess in our cities, and the wealth, culture, and social position of those who compose their congregations, we are prone to take an optimistic view of the religious condition of our great centers of population, and are apt to think that, though gross wickedness may abound, the Church is successfully stemming the mighty tide of evil, and is achieving grand results that give promise of speedy triumph to the Christian forces.

But a more careful study of the condition will most effectually dissipate this optimistic glamour, and reveal the fact that

the Church of to-day, with all its wealth, culture, and social prestige, is scarcely holding its own in the fierce strife with the powers of evil in our cities, and in many of them is by no means keeping pace with the rapid increase of population, much less decreasing the number of the unevangelized masses. Guesses, inferences, hasty generalizations, are not the sources from which we draw our conclusions on this subject; they must be the results of a careful comparison of statistics in reference to the increase of population in our chief cities during a given term of years and the increase of church membership during the same time in such cities. We have only found it possible to obtain reliable statistics relating to our own denomination in these cities; but since, in an article recently published in the *Independent*, from the pen of Dr. Dorchester, on "The Statistics of the Churches of the United States," it is conclusively shown that the Methodist body leads all other denominations in the rate of aggregate increase in membership during a given term of years, it is certainly fair to assume that its progress in cities is at least equal to that of other evangelical denominations. A careful comparison of statistics relating to church membership, as given in the *General Minutes* for 1870 and 1880, with the growth in population of the leading cities of the United States, as compiled from the censuses of 1870 and 1880, gives the following results:

In Boston,	the increase	in	communicants	was	20	per ct.,	in population	20 per ct.
Baltimore,	"	"	"	"	30	"	"	24 "
Brooklyn,	"	"	"	"	30	"	"	38 "
Cincinnati,	"	"	"	"	4	"	"	16 "
Chicago,	"	"	"	"	75	"	"	65 "
Cleveland,	"	"	"	"	32	"	"	83 "
New York,	"	"	"	"	10	"	"	28 "
Philadelphia,	"	"	"	"	20	"	"	26 "
San Francisco,	"	"	"	"	30	"	"	57 "

From this table it will be seen that while in a few of these cities the rate of increase in communicants has been equal to or greater than the rate of increase in population, yet in two thirds of them the rate of increase in communicants has fallen below the rate of increase in population. Taking the aggregate per centage of increase in each, we find that while the cities have increased during the decade at an average rate of 38 per cent., communicants have increased only 28 per cent.; so that with

all our facilities for Christian work, and the efforts put forth to evangelize the masses, the Methodist Church is not even keeping pace with the increase of population from year to year, much less is it diminishing the number of the godless masses that compose the bulk of the population of our cities. If the most successful and aggressive body of Christians—for statistics show this to be the valid title of the Methodist body—is not keeping abreast of the increase of population in our cities, it is fair to conclude that other evangelical denominations are not making any better, if indeed as good, a record.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that in the cities the number of evangelical Christians is much smaller in proportion to the population than in the country at large. While in the whole country one person in five is a member of some evangelical Church, in New York there is only one in thirteen; in Chicago, one in twenty-one; in Cincinnati, one in twenty-three; in San Francisco, one in thirty-seven. The ratio of communicants to population in other large cities ranges somewhere between the extremes of per centage as given above. It is very evident from these considerations that the Christian portion of our urban population is greatly in the minority, and that minority is continually decreasing in proportion to the aggregate of city population.

But there is another fact that augurs ill for any immediate large success in the work of city evangelization, and that is that the provision for church accommodations is steadily falling behind the growth of population; or, in other words, population in our cities is increasing much more rapidly than church accommodations. In 1870 Brooklyn had one Protestant Church to 2,085 inhabitants; in 1880 one to 2,673. In 1870 New York had one Protestant Church to 2,479 inhabitants; in 1880 one to 3,046; and in 1887 one to 3,750. Chicago in 1870 had one Protestant Church to 1,000 inhabitants; in 1880 one to 2,000. Newark, N. J., in 1860, had one Protestant Church to 935; in 1880 one to 1,873. At the present time Boston has only one Protestant Church to every 1,600 inhabitants; St. Louis one to 2,800; San Francisco one to 5,000. Such statistics make it very evident that the accommodations furnished by the Protestant Churches are entirely inadequate to the necessities of the work, and that if the dwellers in our cities were

desirous of attending the means of grace, there would not be room enough in our churches for their accommodation.

There is a marked disparity in this respect between the city and the country. In the whole country there is one Protestant Church to 516 inhabitants; while in the cities there is, on the average, only one to 2,500 inhabitants. In the country at large, during the present century, the Church has been making a steady advance on the population. In 1800 only about seven per cent. of the population were members of evangelical churches; now the communicants of such churches compose more than twenty per cent. of the whole population. The increase of population since 1800 has been ninefold; but the increase of evangelical communicants has been twenty-sevenfold. Yet while in the country at large the membership of the evangelical Churches has increased at a much more rapid rate than the population, in most of our large cities the increase in communicants is not even keeping pace with the growth of population, and that, too, while the city churches are constantly receiving large additions to their membership from those who come from the country to make their homes in the city. Such facts would seem to indicate that there is less energy, enterprise, and activity displayed in the conduct of city churches than in those in the rural districts. But after years of experience in the pastorate, both in the city and country, we are convinced that the churches in our cities are even more active and aggressive than those in the country. The real cause of their comparatively slower growth is to be found in their environments. Obstacles and hinderances, of a nature and character so formidable that one can have no true conception of them except from actual experience, render the work of building up the Church in the city extremely difficult and arduous. Agencies and efforts which, in the country or smaller towns will result in the conversion and ingathering of scores and hundreds of souls into the Church, will utterly fail of reaching the masses in any great numbers in our cities.

The chief obstructions in the way of city evangelization may be classified as follows:

First: *The character of the urban population.*

In the country, except in some few districts, the population is mainly composed of native-born American citizens; but in

our cities the foreign element largely predominates. According to the latest reliable estimate, in New York 88 per cent. of the population is of foreign birth, or children of foreign-born parents; in Chicago, 91 per cent.; in Detroit and Milwaukee, 84; in Cleveland, 80; in San Francisco, 78; in St. Louis, 75; in Cincinnati, 60; in Philadelphia and New Orleans, 51; in Boston, 63. In twenty of the leading cities of the United States the foreign element averages 60 per cent. of the aggregate population. This foreign element in our cities for the most part congregates in certain quarters or districts, and maintains its own language, customs, manners, religion or irreligion, and thus constitutes a foreign city on American soil, and on this account becomes practically inaccessible to evangelistic efforts. In Chicago there is a colony of 30,000 Hungarians, and not a Protestant minister to preach to them in their own language. In Cleveland there are thousands of Bohemians who scarcely assimilate at all with the native-born population. Cincinnati has nearly 100,000 Germans who congregate mainly in the district known as "Over the Rhine." San Francisco has its "Chinese Town," with a population of 30,000 Celestials, with their heathen temple, worship, customs, and vices. New York is said to have a larger Irish population than any city in Ireland, besides multitudes of other foreigners of divers nationalities. It is very evident that such masses of population, hostile or utterly indifferent to evangelical religion, constitute a most formidable barrier to the progress of Protestantism in our cities, and it requires the most persistent, painstaking and constant effort to make any impression on their ranks. It only remains to be said that a very large portion of this foreign element is under the tutelage and guardianship of the Roman Catholic Church, and their prepossessions and bigotry render them almost wholly inaccessible to evangelizing influences.

Second: *The liquor traffic as represented by the saloon.*

Every saloon is a stronghold of the devil and a sworn enemy of the Church. While the baleful influence of the saloon is felt almost every-where, it is intensified to an alarming degree in the city, and its opposition to evangelical Christianity is open, bitter, and determined. The number of saloons in great cities is frightful to contemplate. Boston has one saloon for

every 329 persons; Cleveland, one for 192; New York, one for 179; Chicago, one for 171; Cincinnati, one for 124; that is to say, one for every 25 families. This estimate does not include drug stores and some other places where liquor is sold. In San Francisco there are 4,000 places where liquors are sold —one for every 75 persons; that is, one to every 15 families. The disproportion between the number of saloons and churches is appalling. Chicago has eleven saloons to one Protestant Church; New York has twenty saloons to one Protestant Church; while San Francisco has sixty five places for the sale of liquor to one evangelical Church. This contrast becomes still more striking when we remember that the churches are usually open only from six to sixteen hours per week; but the saloons are open from sixteen to twenty-four hours every secular day, and they are daily frequented by a far larger number of persons in the aggregate than are to be found in the evangelical churches on the Sabbath. The saloon is Satan's mightiest agency for man's ruin. Into these maelstroms of vice thousands of persons of all classes are annually drawn by the wild currents of appetite and passion, are rapidly carried beyond the reach of evangelizing agencies, and end their mad career as wretched wrecks both in body and soul. As long as men are under the thralldom of the drink habit, and are enslaved by the appetite for intoxicants, there can be no hope of their Christianization. The entire liquor power is hostile to the work of evangelization, for thereby the source of their gain would be cut off. Strong in men and money, and utterly unscrupulous in its methods, it constitutes a most formidable obstacle to the work of city evangelization. It is vain to hope for any large or permanent success in evangelizing the masses until the power of the saloon is broken or the accursed institution is utterly exterminated.

Third: *Cities are centers in which the vicious classes congregate, and thus in them are produced "hideous congestions of vice."*

This is largely due to the fact that in cities opportunities for the perpetration of crimes are more frequent and the means for the gratification of criminal appetites and passions are more abundant than elsewhere, while at the same time the labyrinths of lanes and streets, and the dens and dives, afford secure lurking and hiding-places for criminals. Hence in all cities multi-

tudes of thieves, burglars, gamblers, prostitutes, pimps, drunkards, desperados, loafers, and vile vagrants of all classes abound. Rotten to the heart's core themselves, and almost impossible to be reached by any evangelizing agency, because of their love for sin and devotion to evil, and reeking with moral malaria, they become centers for the dissemination of moral pestilence and death. Not content with wallowing in sins of grossest character themselves, they seek to draw all with whom they come in contact down to the vile depths in which they dwell. The word declares "one sinner destroyeth much good." It is evident, then, that the thousands of desperate, hardened criminals who throng our cities, and who are banded together in an unholy war against all that is purifying and ennobling, must constitute a powerful agency for the debasement of society and a most serious obstruction to evangelizing work.

Fourth: *Many attractive places of resort and entertaining places of amusement abound in the city.*

Most of these are of a character that tend to make life frivolous and distract attention from all matters pertaining to religion. Foremost among them is the theater, with its footlights, glitter of gaudy display, scenic tragedies, mirth-provoking comedies, ridiculous farces, attracting nightly thousands of pleasure-seekers who become infatuated with its mimic representations, and are thus unfitted for serious sober thought. The theater exerts a most pernicious influence on most who are attracted within its unhallowed precincts. Its influence is in every respect antagonistic to evangelistic work. Said an *habitué* of the theater in one of our Eastern cities to the writer, "One theater will do more harm than a dozen ministers can do good."

Then there is the mad whirl of gayety during the social season, when society rushes in a wild chase after pleasure, regardless of every thing save present enjoyment, and that enjoyment of the most foolish, frivolous kind. Add to these club-rooms, lodges, societies, billiard-halls, base-ball games, variety shows, beer-gardens, dance-halls, gambling-dens, and under-ground dives, and we have a motley congeries of influences and institutions that either directly or indirectly tend to hinder, or at least render ineffective, all efforts of an evangelizing nature. Then the numerous Sunday excursions carry away from the city, and beyond the reach of evangelizing agencies,

multitudes of the very people who stand most in need of evangelizing influences.

Fifth: *Absorption in the pursuit of wealth.*

Never before in the history of the world was there such universal greed for gain and such effort to attain wealth. Sea and land are explored in the eager search for riches; ways and means of the most doubtful and even dishonest character are resorted to by many to amass wealth. This mad chase after material things, so manifest every-where, is intensified tenfold in the city. The continual strain of business activity and the intense effort made to secure wordly success absorb all the energies and preoccupy the attention of those in business circles to such a degree that they have little time and less inclination to give to the consideration of those things that pertain to their spiritual welfare. Then the keen competition in business and the "tricks of trade" often beget practices that are at variance with the precepts of Christianity, and men's consciences are thereby rendered callous, their moral perceptions are blunted, and their natures take on, as it were, the material cast of their occupations and environments, and they are rendered impervious to all religious influences. In every city where the writer's lot has been cast but comparatively few of the business and professional men have been brought into subjection to the Gospel of Christ. Such men usually control and mold social life and sentiment in a large degree in the communities in which they live, and their godless influence in the cities reacts upon and infects the young men, begetting in them an utter indifference to and disregard of religious matters, so that in most religious assemblies in our cities the young men are mainly conspicuous by their absence. By such direct and indirect methods does the devotion to worldly success operate adversely to the interests of evangelistic work.

Sixth: *Social segregation.*

This is a necessary result of city life, and renders it extremely difficult to bring Christianizing agencies to bear directly upon a very large part of our urban population. In the country people are usually well acquainted with one another, and are easy of access. In the city one often does not know his next-door neighbor, and the work of finding the homes and making the acquaintance of the non-church-going element is

extremely difficult. Personal intercourse and acquaintance greatly facilitates religious work; and comparatively little success can be attained without them. But such easy, friendly relations are very difficult to establish in city life. Indeed, it is only by the most painstaking and persistent effort that one can obtain access to the hearts and homes of the unsaved multitudes in our cities. Then, too, great numbers are scarcely ever found at their homes. The laboring classes are in the shops, manufactories, warehouses for ten or twelve hours per day, and usually spend their evenings on the streets, in the saloons, or at the various places of entertaining amusements. Multitudes of young men are employed in stores and offices during the day, and their evenings are devoted to pleasure, so that they are only at their homes or boarding-houses to eat and sleep. From these facts it is readily seen that the social and industrial conditions of city life render personal work for the evangelizing of the masses very difficult.

The question, How shall we reach the masses? is often asked and variously answered. We build commodious and costly churches and then go *into* them, and invite the public to come in too, if they will take a pew and pay for it. But the masses do not come; in many cases they are not sought after; in some they would not be made welcome if they did come. It is a lamentable fact that, while the seating capacity of our city churches is out of all proportion to the population, these churches are rarely full. Large congregations in city churches are the exception, small ones the rule. The ordinary city church is not more than one half or one quarter full. Men are ready to say our responsibility ceases when we build and maintain churches for the public. Not so, says Christ. "Go out and compel them to come in, that my house may be full." If the indifferent, godless masses will not come to us, if we have the spirit of Christ we will go to them, and stay with them until they yield, conquered and constrained by Christian love and sympathy.

Just here is the chief cause of our failure. The Church of to-day, instead of going *to* and *after* the masses, is going *away* from them. Instead of building and maintaining churches in those parts of the cities where the masses congregate, the tendency is to abandon such places and seek for better or more

aristocratic environments. This process has been going on steadily for years, so that in every large city there are extensive districts almost entirely destitute of gospel privileges and provisions. There are wards in every large city in the United States where there is not more than one Protestant church to every ten or fifteen thousand inhabitants. It is asserted that there is a district in the city of New York containing 50,000 inhabitants, the greater part of whom are English-speaking, where there has not been an English-speaking Protestant church for twelve years.* In a portion of Chicago, where careful examination was made, it was found that there were 20,000 persons under twenty years of age. In this district there were Sunday-school accommodations for less than 2,000.† That is to say, more than 18,000 of the children and youth of that section of the city were compelled to go without any public instruction in reference to the truths of the Gospel, because there were no provisions made for them. It would seem, from these facts, that the Church is *retreating from* the masses rather than going *after* and searching *for* them. If we are to evangelize the cities we must call a halt in this matter; we must cease withdrawing our forces from those quarters where sin abounds and where Satan's seat is. If the masses are to be reached and evangelized, the Church, instead of moving *out*, must rather move *into* these neglected districts, and remain at any and all hazards. She must cease waging an inglorious warfare by means of masterly retreats, and begin and carry on an aggressive, persistent campaign against sin and wickedness in every locality. Churches and missions must be established and maintained in the most wicked and degraded districts. City slums must not be left to rot in moral putrefactions; if they are, they will send out streams of pollution that will poison the atmosphere of many a Christian home, and thus will they be revenged on the Church for its criminal neglect.

But the establishing of missions and chapels must be supplemented by earnest personal work. We have no right to say that because we have built churches and provided religious services our full measure of duty to the non church-goers is performed. Our responsibility for their salvation does not cease until we have done every thing in our power to win them

* *Our Country*, page 134. † *Ibid.*

to Christ. If ordinary methods will not reach or attract them, then we must adopt extraordinary methods. If the people will not come to our houses of worship, we must go to them. "If the mountain will not come to Mohammed, Mohammed must go to the mountain." If we cannot get the unevangelized masses into our churches, we must go where they are to be found. Like Paul, we must be willing to become all things to all men in order to save them. Open air services might be the means of reaching those who will not come into our churches. The Master's ministry was largely an out-door ministry. Wesley, Whitefield and others who wrought mightily and successfully in evangelizing the masses in their day, held frequent open-air meetings both in city and country. Nearly 8,000 such meetings were held in London during the past year with grand results. Then, too, evangelistic services held on Sunday evenings in halls and theaters will attract thousands of all classes who never attend regular church services, and who, being brought into contact with the Gospel in such places, may be led into forming permanent church-going habits. Men must first be brought to *hear* the Gospel before they can be evangelized by it. A unique method has been adopted in a mission hall in the city of Glasgow to attract non-church-goes to religious service. Each Sunday morning a free breakfast is served, consisting of a bowl of hot soup and a ration of bread and cheese for each individual. After the breakfast religious services are held, and the immense congregation of 2,000 or more are offered the bread of life. In all great cities there are thousands of people who have a perpetual struggle for existence, and who, much of the time, are compelled to live on scanty fare. These people scarcely ever hear the Gospel. Their unceasing struggle for existence embitters their lives; their poverty hardens their hearts. A little practical Christian sympathy in relieving their wants, after the Glasgow method, might attract multitudes of them to evangelistic services and result in the conversion and salvation of many. The Master used the feeding of the body as a help to the feeding of the soul, and he made it one of the duties of his followers to feed the hungry. The celebrated Dr. Guthrie longed to see a "real, practical love-feast, at least one comfortable, decent meal for the poor of God's household, every Sabbath." Such practical Chris-

tian beneficence might be readily practiced in every city, if only those who possessed this world's goods would give of their abundance—or even make some sacrifice—for the sake of their suffering fellow-men.

To reach the people who throng the parks and other out-door Sunday resorts, Gospel wagons have been successfully used. The equipments for such wagons consist of an organ, a few good singers, and two or three speakers—men of red hot hearts, good, hard, common sense, who understand how to present Gospel truth in a practical, taking way. Each wagon becomes a kind of flying gospel-battery for the bombardment of Satan's strongholds; each company can hold half a dozen gospel services every Sunday in as many different parts of the city. At all open-air services religious tracts should be distributed to those who will receive them, in order to continue and deepen any serious impressions that may have been made.

While meetings out of doors and in halls and theaters should be multiplied, more frequent services should be held in the churches. John Wesley was accustomed to say that "the idea of holding meetings less often than every day originated with the devil." Now, except in revival seasons, most churches are not open on the average one half the evenings of the week. The homes of the laboring classes in the cities are not usually very attractive, and often not even comfortable, and after working all day in close, dirty, ill-ventilated manufactories, shops, and stores, they are inclined to spend their evenings abroad. When a church is located amid such a population it should provide every night some bright, attractive, interesting service of a religious or social nature, or of the two combined, so that there may be some place for the working men to go and receive a cordial welcome besides the groggery, the dive, or the dance-hall. To carry on such work successfully would require vastly more activity on the part of the members of our churches than they now display; but that is just what is most needed for the healthy development of the Church itself. But a very small portion of any church is actively engaged in evangelizing work of any sort. The Master's complaint is still sadly true. "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the *laborers* are few." There would be no lack of laborers if every believer was full of energy and zeal, and thoroughly devoted to the work of God.

The ministry alone can never evangelize our cities; the laity must co-operate earnestly and zealously or the work can never be done. Praying-bands, composed of earnest, enthusiastic, consecrated men, "full of faith and of the Holy Ghost," should be organized and set to work in all our cities. Rightly directed and utilized they would become a mighty power for good in carrying on evangelistic work. Bible-readers and missionaries must supplement the work of the regular pastors. In this department devout and devoted women can be used to great advantage. They can go where men cannot, and they often manifest superior tact in religious conversation and in securing the attendance of both children and adults at the services of the sanctuary. The work of Christian women, wisely employed, may become a mighty factor in promoting the evangelizing of our cities.

To insure the best results these public efforts to win the masses to Christ must be supplemented by a thorough and systematic house-to-house visitation of the non-church-going element. The Church can only get *en rapport* with the unevangelical masses and save them by getting into close personal association with them; and this can only be done by visiting them at their homes. Such visitation must be undertaken, not in a professional or perfunctory manner and spirit, but by men and women full of sympathy and love for their fellow-men, and with a great and wise zeal for their salvation. This work is too great to be accomplished by any one denomination singly and alone. It can only be well and thoroughly done by concert of action on the part of all evangelical churches. To do such work effectively the city should be districted, and neighboring churches should have assigned to them the contiguous territory, the districts being so arranged as to cover the whole city. These districts should be subdivided into groups of from twenty to fifty families each, and several visitors assigned to each sub-district. There are multitudes of church members in our city churches who could well afford the time to do such work, and besides thus making themselves useful, they would be greatly benefited in doing the work. The English churches are far ahead of us in such work. In London last year 3,500,000 such visits were made, carrying the Gospel's offer of salvation to every garret, cellar, and attic

in that vast metropolis. Methods of visitation such as have been described, have been put in operation in some of the cities of this country, and have been productive of the most encouraging results. An annual visitation of the homes of the non-church-going element in every city in the United States is possible and practicable, if the Christian element in each city would combine and engage heartily and earnestly in such an undertaking. The results accruing would benefit, in large measure, both the churches and the people whom they seek. If our cities are to be evangelized, more general and aggressive efforts must be put forth to secure that object. The Church must, in some way, utilize the vast amount of talent that now lies hidden under the napkins of selfishness and ease. The Christian forces in our cities are sufficiently strong in numbers, wealth, and ability to enable them to speedily rescue these cities from the dominion of the powers of darkness. To fail to do this is to betray the trust committed to their charge.

The problem of city evangelization is continually increasing in importance, inasmuch as our cities are continually increasing in number and size, and also in the potency and scope of their influence. It is a problem with which the Church is brought face to face in this nineteenth century as never before. If we grow cowardly and faint-hearted and despairing as we contemplate it, and sit down supinely and declare that we are not able to cope with it, with what show of consistency can we send missionaries to heathen lands and expect them to plant churches in heathen cities and evangelize the degraded millions that dwell therein? Let there be an immediate, mighty, united, and courageous effort on the part of all the Christian forces to bring the cities in the home field under the dominion of the Gospel of Christ, and in so doing they would give a mighty inspiration to Christian workers in foreign lands, and a wonderful impetus to the cause of evangelization throughout the world.

E. D. McCreary.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

PARAGRAPHIC.

A NEW department is here introduced to the readers of the *Review*. It is designed to subserve a purpose not included under other heads, and will be in keeping not only with the high standard of the periodical, but also with the literary spirit of the times and the general inquiring activity that is so marked a feature of the present day. Its preannouncements of books, with foreshadowing scope and influence; its criticism of authors, and description of their personal and literary habits; its suggestions concerning authorship, such as difficulties, financial phases, and anticipations; its observations of theories and theorists; its outlook into the theological realm, with the noticeable changes going on in some leading minds; its replevin of ideas from wrong owners and condemnation of the wrong-doer; its stimulating influence on the evident tendencies of student and thinker; its comments on the social longings and developments of all classes; its recognition of denominational quickening, with lateral issues and results; its intended grasp of the struggles, high and low, of the masses, with a philosophic and religious analysis of the same; and, finally, its proposed purpose to attempt to discern and decipher the thoughts of the friends and foes of the Protestant genius, so far as they are within our range, will combine to make the brieflets valuable and the department elevating and useful.

Calvinism, supposed to be in the almond-tree stage of its history, still flourishes—*in some excellent quarters*. In the absence of Dr. W. M. Taylor from his pulpit in New York in July, the new President of Princeton College, the Rev. Francis L Patton, D.D., preached some admirable sermons to his people and others who were privileged to hear him. Able as they were, a current of ultra-Calvinism flowed along the channels of his thinking, and, unbelieving as we were, the appreciation was all we could render. In his invocation he prayed that God would help us to recognize the *guilt we have incurred* by the fall. This marks the difference between complete Calvinism and the Remonstrant theology of the Netherlands, of which the Arminians of to-day are the inheritors and propagators. To assume that man inherits the guilt of Adam is bad theology, and at right angles with human history, and contradictory of personal experience. Man inherits the pollution of sin, the bias to sin, the power to sin, but not the *guilt of sin*. He is born into the world, not a sinner, but with a sinful inheritance, though conjoined therewith is the dominion of grace, which secures salvation to the infant world without the usual human steps. We are born innocent, but capable of transgression. Calvinism shadows the pulpit of the brave old denomination; there is more sunshine in its pews.

Why do scholars persistently translate בְּרֵאשִׁית (Gen. i, 1) "in the beginning," when the article is entirely absent? If the exactly literal translation —"in beginning"—were printed in the Bible, it would change the meaning of the verse, but place it in harmony with the chapter itself and extinguish the confusion that the English rendering always excites. As we have it there is discord, not to say absence of meaning, in the verse. "In *the* beginning"—the beginning of what? The usual answer is, "In the beginning of time." But this is unintelligible, that is, it carries us back to no starting point, and leads to no fixed period. We know nothing more after reading it than before. The question is, Does it refer to *time* at all? We think not. To translate it without the article puts an entirely intelligible meaning into it. Thus read, it refers to the beginning of *work* instead of *time*. In beginning creation, or the work of creating, God created the heaven and the earth. That is, his *first* physical work was to bring into existence in a potential state the astronomic sphere. The chapter then proceeds to detail the scientific order of a complete creation, or the successive steps of the material universe. We suggest that this translation is at least as correct as the other, and the meaning transparent. It is therefore submitted to the attention of the Hebraist.

Professor Drummond has precipitated a theory that no thinker has fully resolved. He has been assailed, challenged for proof, and some applications of his theory have been shaken in the minds of the shakers, but we submit that his doctrine of the identity of natural and spiritual laws has not been answered. We do not affirm that the doctrine is true; we merely suggest that a denial of it, or a refusal to believe it, is not a sufficient disposition of it. The fear is, that an acceptance of the theory implies a materialistic tendency or influence in religious thought, while it is evident that, whatever was the purpose of the author along this line, properly interpreted it will promote a spiritual conception of the universe, or such conception as will be a positive antidote to materialism. Condemnation of the theory, without argument, without an exact measurement of all its implications, is not wise, and will not lead to a just estimate of its inner value. Who has demolishing power let him use it; otherwise he should be silent if he would earn the reputation of a wise man.

The student's lamp is of the devil. This is a strong saying, but none too strong. The habit of studying at night is pernicious to the last degree, and he that has formed it would do well immediately to break it. The night-student has given a mortgage on his future which will be demanded to the last farthing. If one would save his eyes from premature failing; if one would obtain eight or nine hours refreshing sleep; if one would be vigorous every forenoon; if one would achieve something from year to year; let one avoid the study at night. Many eminent writers do their work early in the morning, and are not engaged long at one sitting. Six

hours of uninterrupted study every day will lead to achievement. He that is methodical in this particular will accomplish all that he can desire without the student's lamp.

If Mr. Ignatius Donnelly has satisfied himself that Francis Bacon wrote Shakespeare's dramas, he should be happy; but as he has not convinced the world of letters that he has made out his case he may be suffering from that lack of appreciation that is regarded as the penalty of original literary exploration. The English bard doubtless furnished himself from Latin authors, just as the Elizabethan writers were accustomed to do; but it does not follow that he was a plagiarist, nor do we deem it probable that another wrote his plays and permitted the glory and honor to pass over to him. Current opinion in England is critically adverse to the cipher theory of our Minnesota *littérateur*, regarding it as the manufacture of a perturbed imagination, and brought forward more to win notoriety for its inventor than to establish the truth of the authorship of the dramas. No objection is raised to the attempt to unearth a plagiaristic plot in Shakespeare or any body else; we rather admire the pluck of the man who digs for what he thinks he will surely find. However, in this case the historic fame of the bard is not likely to be canceled or marred, and Mr. Donnelly has wrought for naught.

Agnosticism is ancient Pyrrhonism revived. The old type of Philosophic Knownothingism was apologetic, and rested on a basis of uncertainty and ignorance; the modern type is brazen, and boastful of its incertitudes. Then man was blind and tried to open his eyes; now he can see but refuses to look. Then ignorance was natural; now it is sinful. Agnosticism, as applied to the great facts or laws of nature, as set up as the golden calf of unbelievers, is as ignominious as the atheism of Democritus, more harmful than the idolatry of the Israelites, and more self-deteriorating than the profane impulses of the loathed profligate. It is the sign of mental imbecility and the advertisement of misapplied intellect to the problem of life. As a system, it is without component parts; as a belief, it is without a basis; as an influence, it is without dynamic energy; and as to its future, it is already in the relentless throes of a fatal reaction.

It is both singular and refreshing that the first book manuscript offered to us for examination has for its subject the apostolicity of our Episcopacy. To this we have no objection, for a Methodist bishop is as truly in succession as the Archbishop of Canterbury. If the Archbishop is opposed to this statement of fact so much the worse for him, and none the worse for us. Insisting on our place in the historic succession, we nevertheless abjure all claim to a third order for our bishops. That figment of the imagination may be left to the few believers who hold to it as a means of ecclesiastical safety in times of declension, and a source of honor before the gazing world outside of their chalked circle. We are apostles, all of us, and that is the end of discussion.

Stopford Brooke is studying the political life of Milton; Halliwell Phillipps is delayed by sickness in publishing a life of Shakespeare; Ruskin is about to issue his "Modern Painters" in five volumes; Carlyle's opinion of Frederick the Great was that he was a "great disappointment;" Victor Hugo was so voluminous a writer that it will require ten years to prepare and publish his unpublished manuscripts; the autobiography of Adelaide Ristori is valuable from its histrionic character, and charming because of the absence of affectation and egotism; Byron is suffering in the hands of the reviewer; Dean Bradley is preparing a life of Dean Stanley; David Dudley Field recently received a degree from the University of Bologna; *La Revue de Famille* is another new French semi-monthly, with Jules Simon as editor; Mr. Wong Chin Foo has inaugurated an illustrated Chinese weekly in New York; and a "socio-political" weekly appears in Berlin with the name of *Deutsche Arbeiterzeitung.*

The present number of the *Review* exhibits some modifications of the routine form, which we trust will be acceptable to its privileged circle. Holding decided views as to what it should be in order to accomplish a specific work, we have been minded to solicit, and have in turn received, some suggestions, a few somewhat valuable, many not of lasting worth, respecting its regular preparation and management; but it must also be said that many of the suggestions thus far made are of a negative character and do not exactly meet the case. Intelligent counselors caution us against this or that feature of the religious periodical; pronounce this or that department useless or inefficient; and do not hesitate to predict calamity if this or that course be pursued. For these cautions, warnings, and prophecies we desire to be grateful; but we shall esteem him the wise man who will tell us exactly what to do. An affirmative suggestion is worth more than a score of negative restrictions, whatever prudential value they may possess. We are as interested to know what to do as what to avoid. Neither Scylla nor Charybdis affrights us; we only seek a straight and open passage to the shore-lands beyond. We give notice, therefore, that if affirmative directions are not forthcoming within a reasonable time, we shall pursue our own plans and trust the consequences with the Church.

In this connection we venture a suggestion or two to contributors of the *Review*, the observance of which may be to their advantage, and the relief of the office:

1. As to length, articles should not exceed eighteen printed pages. Nonconformity to this rule will incur the following penalty—*the exclusion of the article.* Writers should employ a literary condenser. If they are without one, they should buy, borrow, or invent one.

2. Manuscripts in rolls are an offense in an editor's office. Under no circumstances send them in this form.

3. A request that an article be inserted in the following number will not avail any thing; therefore, do not make it.

4. Articles on modern subjects are coveted.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS.

LITERARY COMPENSATIONS.

A LITERARY life is both subjective and objective. To the mind-crystallized man the subjective feature is the more important, because it is the more advantageous and permanent. It implies more than the average reader would suspect, for much of the pleasure excited by a literary pursuit, and those internal profits that are known only to the subject himself, are invisible, or have no outward expression, or such an expression as could be discerned and estimated only with a spy-like scrutiny. There is on profession or work that is more remunerative subjectively than the literary profession, whether followed singly and exclusively, or in combination with other congenial callings. In saying this we do not mean that this phase of remuneration will largely depend upon the individual, for it is absolute in itself; and if it is not realized or appropriated the fact makes against the writer or author himself. True it is, that one mind may estimate more highly than another some of these subjective considerations, as tastes, temperaments, educational conditions, and temporal necessities differ; but it must be urged, that appreciated or spurned, the reflexive advantages are of indisputable worth, and constitute the inalienable possessions of one devoted to literature. In fact, looking into the callings of men, it is found that the subjective feature is secretly, if not openly, conspicuous, and unless smothered by a commercial spirit or vitiated by a depraved impulse it is the controlling feature, and the standard by which to determine the character of the individual. The musician as well as the poet, the artist as well as the philosopher, the architect as well as the novelist, the teacher as well as the theologian, constantly rely upon subjective results as sources of satisfaction and proofs of success in their work.

What these particular profits are it is important to know, both for the sake of information and to relieve the subject of a too general statement. If one of the chief ends of life is individual happiness, or a satisfaction of one's calling, the person being fitted to it and skilled in it, be he literary gentleman or not, may realize it quite as readily as any other. That sense of pleasure that arises from finished work, or that springs from a relation to the highest sphere of existence, or that issues from the contemplation of the noblest themes of life, is the spontaneous product of the literary worker, whatever his work or however it is received by the world. He is certain that his neighbor occupies no higher position than himself; he knows that he holds the key to the mysteries of life, even though he is unable to find the lock into which he may thrust it; he feels that intellectual throb that is the precursor of a thought that may burn its way into the heart of the race; he is master of a realm, and walks only on highways built for kings. Surely he cannot despise this exalted position nor ignore its correlative associations, nor will he barter it for the more glittering crowns of a lower sphere which are certain of rust and decay.

If this is too abstract a compensation, though it is as concrete as any material advantage, it will not be denied that the educational reward is both real, comprehensive, and above all price. The literary calling, whether it be poetic, philosophic, scientific, journalistic, or pedagogical, is educational in every aspect, rapidly developing the strongest faculties of the intellect while it ministers to the finest instincts of the soul. Take the poet as an example. His knowledge of the laws of prosody is alphabetical, but going on he familiarizes himself with the poets of ancient and modern times, becomes a critic of those renowned in Greece and Rome, takes up the Hindoo hymnists, and learns their themes and their meters, and is at home among the bards of Germany and England; in fine, he makes a monopoly of poetry and reaps all the dividends. He is a larger poet because he has entered the poetic world; he has educated himself in the song-lore of the race; no rhythm is strange to him, no lyrical theme is new to him, no poet is unknown to him. This education is his permanent property. Likewise the philosopher or scientist, by right of discovery of facts and principles, by virtue of acquaintance with predecessors and contemporaries, by personal inquiry for truth into the realms of nature and mind, by serious testing of theories and proportions, ripens into a scholarship the most commanding, and accumulates knowledge for which no material compensation would be considered an equivalent. The reflexive result is the same in the spheres of journalism, pedagogics, law, medicine, theology, or whatever literary pursuit may be chosen and followed.

Who can esteem lightly such results as scholarship, a conscious enlargement of mental capacity, the accumulation of knowledge from all realms, a perfect mastery of the profession followed, and a consciousness that he is in alliance with truth and is contributing to its successful intrenchment in this world?

Indeed, the moral view of his occupation is compensative to the highest degree, but is too often overlooked in the make-up of reflexive results. If it is supposed that the *litterateur* is unmindful of the moral standing of himself or his work, and is indifferent to the consequences of his services, we must pronounce the impression not only false, but wrongful to the class in question. Here and there one may be found who is careless of his reputation, or indifferent to the utility of his work; but, as a rule, the literary worker is solicitous of his influence, and grieves more over its loss or the decadence of his power to touch human society at a vital point than over the failure to receive just pecuniary compensation. He is as often prompted by the highest motives in his work as other men in other spheres, and a consciousness of usefulness is as dear to him as to other men. If by any word from his pen he has initiated a reform, political, social, or religious—if his opinion has led to the repeal of unjust measures or the enactment of wise legislation—if he has awakened public sympathy in behalf of the poor or provided for the alleviation of human want—if he has excited a just ambition in the heart of the discouraged or softened some of the hardships of the neglected—if, less practical but more philosophical, he has pointed out the errors of metaphysicians and theoretical

scientists, and opened the way to new truth and new principles of interpretation both of nature and man—if he has added a ray of light to the traveler in his search for the unknown—if he has pointed out the path of the Infinite and indicated his very presence in the universe, in human history, and in the present life—he rejoices over these results with a joy unspeakable, and for the time covets no higher reward.

The literary calling opens the moral sense and ministers to its satisfaction; it educates the intellectual nature and affords it resources without limit; it provides for that enjoyment that the human heart craves, and crowns the victor with kinghood in the domain of letters.

In this exaltation of the subjective side of the literary life we do not forget the objective features, which, to some minds, eclipse those just named, and which possibly are sought in preference to them. Recognizing the objective side as the visible side, and with no desire to underestimate it, still we cannot agree that one side equals the other, or that the objective is superior to the subjective. The habit is to all too common to consider the visible remuneration of a calling as the index of its worth, and as an inducement to enter it. Nearly every profession has its standing from its commercial value. The ledger is on every shelf, in every pigeon-hole, and too often consulted, first of all, to determine the occupation to be pursued. In condemning this habit we frankly state that the objective side of a literary life will bear inspection, as the compensation of literary success is often sufficient, and ranks well with that offered in other spheres. If one *must* consider the outside bearings of a profession, and determine his choice by the proportion of large external rewards offered him, we commend the literary life to his attention. The love of fame, or the yearning for the world's liberal recognition for services rendered, is surer of final gratification in this sphere than any other. Such a love in association with religious motives is honorable, and has prompted to generalship, statesmanship, intellectual labor and sacrifice, heroic devotion to duty, and achievements in industry, in the arts, and in all the fields of human activity. Appreciation of one's labor may not come quickly; it may not come in one's life-time; but the *littérateur* must take his chances with other men, and perhaps die unknown as a great man. In that event he must trust his fortune to posterity, who will honor him with a monument and an epitaph, or a poem or a shrine. Postponement of recognition or posthumous honors may not be as satisfying to the individual as present applause and a crown that he may wear in sight of all the people; but these things cannot very well be regulated. On the supposition that he is a great man he may have to wait for final recognition long after he is dead; but this is no discouragement. Posthumous fame is enduring; current fame runs the gauntlet and may fail to win the fadeless prize. After six centuries of silence repentant Italy and the lazy world revive the memory of Dante, and proclaim him the greatest of poets. Fame has the years at her command, and in her hands the fate of the literary man is safe enough.

There is, however, a current fame that the *littérateur* is likely to secure, that he has a right to expect, and that may come any moment or any day. The gloom of the posthumous picture is relieved by the sunshine of the passing hour. If his work is inherently meritorious, as we suppose it to be, the discovery will be made in some quarter, and his name will have a temporary, if not permanent, trumpeting that will satisfy him, provided he is not eaten up with this kind of a desire. The world is not asleep. It never was as wide awake as now, and never were there so many methods and tests by which to ascertain the value of any product, and with a speed almost startling. We live in an age when intellectual obstetrics is a profession, and is pursued by a multitude. Critics, specialists, radicals, conservatives, inquirers, are every-where alert to discover the valuable, anxious to announce the new, and, in addition to declaring the worth of one's wares, they often prophesy the future growth and fame of their owners. This is fame in advance—*prophetic fame*—a spur to rise to the level of the prophecy and fulfill it. It is a mistake to suppose that this eye-opened age is too short-sighted to detect the beauty, richness, and magnificence of a discovered truth or the imperishable greatness of a literary achievement. The present is prone to deal justly with those who submit their destinies into its hands; but if it should fail in its duty, or be vicious in its judgment, or be incompetent to appraise the value of an intellectual delivery, the appeal to the future will not go unheeded. Thus the fame of the *littérateur* is sufficiently safe-guarded by the intellectual spirit of the present and the stern but agreeable justice of the future.

A more tangible objective feature, or that which has two sides to it and which is less understood than any other, is the pecuniary compensation of a literary life. The current notion is, that literature as a profession is unremunerative, and, therefore, uninviting; that the world is too unappreciative of literary excellence to reward it; and that he who casts his lot within the circle of the pen-craft, however gifted he may be and however philanthropic his services to society, must expect to share the poverty of Lazarus, and enjoy a less fortune even than the foxes and birds. How this delusion came into existence, and what influence spread it until it has become an accepted fact, it is not difficult to tell. It is historic in origin, and as old as the republic of letters. In the early civilizations poverty was general, wealth being confined to royalty and nobility; but then, as now, Providence, keeping close to the law of compensation in this life, endowed the poor youth with intellectual power, and opened to him a realm that even kings could not enter. The slave became a poet, the plebeian a philosopher, the foundling an astronomer, the criminal an orator and rhetorician. Without fortune, or opportunity, or the accidents of patronizing friendships, the intellectual athlete startled the throne, and the throne became patron of letters in these poverty-marked giants of the day. Neither Æsop nor Virgil nor Epictetus nor Demosthenes had attained their enduring celebrity without the patronage of royal houses or the sympathetic auxiliary of the nobles. Since those days intellect has struggled for independence and recognition, opposed sometimes by

authority, often weighted down by modest self-distrust, and generally manacled by the chain and ball of poverty.

But this is only one side, and not *the* side to be considered. The question is, not the poverty of those called to literature, but the compensation offered the profession. Here, again, is an embarrassment, because there is no fixed compensation, and there cannot be, for literary work. If it is a poem, or a philosophy, or a text-book, or a tract, or a newspaper article, the compensation will vary accordingly; in some cases amounting to a large sum, in others to scarcely enough to purchase postage stamps for the return of rejected manuscripts. Besides, compensation sometimes is regulated by the standing of the contributor or author—an obscure writer receiving less for his work, though as well done as a more famous writer could do it, than one of great experience in his profession. A village poet in Arizona could hardly expect to receive as much for his poem as Tennyson or Whittier; an author of a small treatise, his first work and himself unknown, could hardly anticipate the verdict that would be accorded to such a writer as James Russell Lowell or Joseph Parker. We mention these extremes to show that certain rules—scarcely laws—to some extent govern the compensation of writers.

The delusion of which we are writing is partly explained by the fact that in other years, when men of broad-gauge minds wrote with vigor and were aidful to society in solving problems of great interest, and gave character and dignity to the language and their profession by their royal intellectual achievements, the compensation was far below what it ought to have been, and disgraced literature as a calling. It was not a calling; there was no scale of prices; there was no inducement to give one's self to letters only from pure love, and poverty often prevented its exercise. The author received so small a stipend that it is humiliating to quote it. Goldsmith received £60 for *The Vicar of Wakefield;* Campbell £20 for *Pleasures of Hope;* Milton, Shakespeare, Bacon, Barrow, all disposed of their works at a price nominal and discouraging. But it is an error to be quoting Milton's receipt for *Paradise Lost* as the proof of an ungrateful world, since in these days, if literature has not a market price, it is marketable, and compensation is on the increase. In many cases the reward is certain, large, and speedily given. Judge Tourjee received $70,000 for *The Fool's Errand;* Longfellow $4,000 for the single poem *Hanging of the Crane;* Byron £4,000 for *Childe Harold;* Disraeli $5,000 for *Endymion;* Sir Walter Scott £8,000 for *Woodstock;* Victor Hugo $12,000 for *Ernani;* Tennyson $12 a line for *Revenge;* Moore $15,500 for *Lalla Rookh;* Macaulay $100,000 for his *History of England;* Blaine, Grant, Stevens, Bret Harte, and Joseph Cook sums so large as to justify the statement that high-caste literature is profitable, because readable and in demand. The fiction writer has the inside track on compensation, because he produces what multitudes will read, and publishing houses who cater to public taste and preference are eager to possess.

Much ado has recently been made over the report of the very meager estate of Matthew Arnold, late poet, critic, author, and letter-writer.

The fact that he did not leave more than $5,000 should not excite remark, since other men, quite as great in their spheres, and altogether as useful, have died and left nothing. Mr. Arnold received liberal compensation as a writer, but he disposed of his surplus, not by improvidence or indifference to the value of money, but in the payment of the debts of a profligate son, almost bankrupting himself. This, therefore, is to his credit, and makes not against literature as a profession. At this point it should be written that the literary and avaricious spirit are quite incompatible, the mercenary element operating as a check to honest and profound investigation and to definite and lasting results. A penny-a-liner, or one in debt, as was Sir Walter Scott in his later years, may write wholly for the pecuniary result, but the fine intellectual sense is blunted and consecutive intellectual results are rarely attained. A higher motive must govern the man of letters. As to his profession, it is its glory that it is in part without commercial aspects, and that the subjective view is dominant in his realm of thinking and doing. Insensibility to these rugged, corroding, lower motives is a condition of progress, of acquisition, of happiness. The truest reward is subjective; the objective, however needful, is fleeting, except as it partakes of the nature of established fame, which is more valuable than wealth, or secures an undisturbed position for the individual, which is at least a comfort and convenience. The average author should not expect a sale of a hundred editions of his work; his eye must not be upon rapid commercial returns; he can only hope for appreciation from the learned and grateful homage from posterity. Looking upon his calling from this high point, it is immaterial whether his estate nets $5,000 or $5. He has attained his end, and the world has its duty respecting him.

In addition to the foregoing, it should not be forgotten that a literary life is environed with social and political advantages that atone largely for inadequate pecuniary compensation. Brains will admit one anywhere and every-where—to the most select social circles, to the literary clans in every city and nation, to the highest recognition from all classes and all countries. Political preferment is often a perquisite of literary distinction, as Hawthorne was a custom-house officer, Washington Irving the minister to Spain, and James R. Lowell our representative to the court of St. James. Elevated to place, opportunities for new literary ventures are opened, and the man of the pen ascends still higher on the roll of honor, and increases his usefulness with the flow of years.

These phases of the literary life, with their accompaniments, compel us to protest against the prominence given to its commercial aspect, and to insist that, regardless of the latter altogether, such are the emoluments of the literary position as to make honorable the desire of one to reach it, and to justify literature as a distinct profession worthy of the attention of the industrious and full of promise to the ambitious. Measured by the best rule, the *littérateur*, rich or poor, may hold up his head amid all conflicts and all conditions; but, prompted by an eagerness for loaves and fishes, he must feel that he has prostituted his calling to selfishness, and the world will not be unjust in repudiating him and his work.

THE TWO METHODISMS.

The separation of the Methodism of the South from the mother-Church, or what was afterward styled the Methodist Episcopal Church, had its origin in an unpleasant history, the recalling of which is not at all necessary to the entertainment of a suggestion of final organic unity between them. Wise or unwise, the separation, like that between Abraham and Lot, took place, and the only question we care to discuss is the feasibility of restoration to a common Churchhood. Historically speaking, another Church was erected in this country, with all the rights and privileges of ecclesiastical sovereignty, when the Methodism of the South stood for itself and proclaimed its independence of the old Church. Since that day it has demonstrated its character as a Church by a resistless energy in the work of the Lord, and by successes that are gratifying to all believers in the kingdom of God. Accepting, therefore, its Churchhood as a legitimate result and a providential fact, and with no disposition to re-open the causes of the separation, as they can have little influence in the settlement of the problem before us, we submit that it is opportune to consider whether a more formal approach to unity will not be advantageous to all the interests involved, and what steps should be taken to promote it.

For several years a spirit of fraternity has possessed both parties, delegates bearing kindly greetings have been sent from the General Conference of one body to that of the other, and assurances of good will have been reciprocated all along the line. We do not note the exceptions to this statement, because they are not sufficient to overcome it. It is generally believed that the two Churches sustain not only pleasant, but also harmonious and beneficial, relations to each other, and in some quarters, at least, the opinion is open and strong in favor of organic unification.

Certainly the advantages of such a union are important enough to compel most serious attention, and unless positive disadvantages shall be presented, it will behoove both sides not to oppose the contemplated proposition unless with great carefulness and sincerity. While the necessity of denominations is conceded, because believers interpret the Scriptures differently, some holding to Calvinian views and others to Arminian conceptions, and still others to neither but to something else, it is difficult to see the ground of separation between Churches of the same faith, traditions, and form of government. Radical differences on any one point forbid present unity; but we have not learned that there is a doctrinal variance between the Churches, or that the governmental departures on the one side or the other from a common standard are so grave as to prevent reconciliation. To go no further, it does appear as if all obstructions of weighty import to a complete unity are out of the way; and if so the *onus probandi*, or the ground of refusal, must be justified by those who make it.

There is no one to dispute the fact that the "occasion," if not the "cause," of separation has disappeared from the controversy, and

argument from that source against unity loses its force. It is not so much that a new generation is upon the stage as that by the stern arbitrament of war the occasion of political and religious animosity between the two sections has passed away. To continue to justify two Methodisms is to build upon a foundation that cannot be found. New conditions imply reconstructions. Presenting the case in this form, we intend no reflection on the part of the separatists for their original act, and no criticism upon any present indisposition among them to receive history as we state it; but we are warranted in affirming the extinction of the ground of the separation, and the continuance of another Methodism in this country must be justified from some other stand-point.

In this connection the patriotic phase of the discussion must have place, as we believe that the consolidation of Methodist interests in one body will not only tend to religious supremacy in this country, but it will go far toward promoting that political unity that all desire, but which neither statesmen nor people have been able to establish. It will not be forgotten that the dismemberment of the Church in 1844 was initiated quite as much by a political as a moral question, and that in the great contest that followed Methodism in a sense stood for the nation. Its legislation and the subsequent division into two branches, based upon transparent relations to slavery, had much to do in developing the crisis of 1861–65, which forever settled the one question, if it did not all others growing out of it. The division of the Church was germinally the division of the nation; the restoration of the Church will contribute as no other single cause to the advanced unity of the nation. It is not bigoted assumption, but a general belief, that the unity of divided Methodism will preliminarily establish political concord throughout the country, and point to an everlasting burial of the ghost of disunion. This result is inevitable from the nature of existing conditions and the force of prevailing sentiments. Religious hand-shaking is the prelude to a political make-up. It is a part of the history of the strife of 1861 that the Southern Methodists were more violent in their denunciation of what they called Northern prejudice than any other class; they put their religious fire into the war, and made it hot for the opposing side; they intensified the prevailing hatred of Northern institutions, men, and sentiments; and, as they divided the Church in 1844, and nearly divided the nation in 1861–65, they may powerfully aid in securing political order and progress through religious conciliation and a re-embracing with old-time affection of the mother-Church they felt justified in leaving. Will they do it?

A striking argument for unity is the strength and development the united Methodism will realize. Glorify our ecclesiastical statistics, as we may; set forth our doctrines as the most liberal among Protestants, as we do; prove that our theology will yet take the world, as we can; and indulge in prophecies of bewildering greatness and a triumph so vast that it cannot be measured, as *some* do—the fact remains that the two Methodisms are not fulfilling their high calling to the utmost possibility, and the

nation is suffering or losing for the want of a religious aggression that the two Churches united could bring to bear upon it. Take into the view all that the most zealous of other denominations are doing; allow that other Churches are as interested in the national welfare as our own, and are working with a corresponding energy, and yet it is clear that our national life, while not deteriorating, is not as richly ennobled, or as magnificently and religiously cultured, as it might be, and as it must be to reach a higher destiny. One Methodism would be a symbol of strength; its resources, social, financial, educational, and religious, would be adequate to any project; its spirit would be ubiquitous, and therefore the object of respect; and if a national Church were at all possible in the republic, Methodism would rightly claim the title. It would have the wealth, the prestige, the dignity, the power, and the people; what more would be wanting? If the Urim and Thummim should be missing, happily the throne is near, and divine glory would baptize every altar and set every man free.

Commercially, the united Church would work at an immense advantage, and in these days of limited equipments, with an increasing demand for greater efficiency in all the departments of Church aggression, the consideration is at least relevant. The missionary societies would be consolidated, requiring less official supervision; the missionary programme in foreign countries would be so changed as to avoid friction in those lands, and the same number of missionaries could be more widely distributed; the education of the freedmen would be accomplished chiefly by Southern agency, certainly without annoyance and antagonism; our publishing interests might be consolidated, or conducted by less expensive methods; and where it would seem impossible to harmonize conflicting official interests, time, the great regulator, would take care of them. If this is not an overdrawn possibility in the event of union, we have presented an additional argument in its favor.

Such internal advantages could not accrue without a corresponding external influence on other denominations. If our division shall be healed, it will not be long before Presbyterian unity will be announced, and other unities will be in progress and be finally consummated. It is true that after five different overtures to the South the Presbyterian Church of the North feels little like renewing the proposition for unity; but it is not certain that our Northern Methodism would meet with continual repulses. Shall we initiate the great religious unity in this country, or follow the leadership of another great denomination in the divinely appointed order of Christian unity?

We have not urged this step on scriptural grounds, the most solid, without question invulnerable, because in the incipient stages of a movement like the one contemplated, other arguments, political, social, financial, denominational, and doctrinal, will have precedence; but if it shall be found that the preceding arguments are unanswerable, the scriptural argument will be in order, and make delay in unity a mistake if not a crime. Nor have we sought to impress the reader that the

trend of the age unmistakably points to this consummation, for we are not certain that it does, and if it does we are not certain that it will be accepted as a providential order to assimilate in blessed unity.

There is a reason for the continual deep-down estrangement of the two Methodisms, a ground of difference in something that justifies the arm's-length type of friendship between them, obstacles perhaps that really will prevent the fullest cordiality, reciprocity, and unity for some time to come. It is not a revelation that we propose to make, for the obstacles that prevent the natural order of things are on the surface and will be recognized as soon as named.

Is it too much to suggest that the shadow of the early hostility of 1844 and of the later internecine antagonism is still upon the Church, perhaps in the North as well as the South, confusing our distinctions of right and wrong, and paralyzing all efforts at oneness of constitutional energy and life? We at least fear that while the bitterness of the epochs is past the memory of the same is the source of pitiable excruciation. Some things are difficult to forget, some things ought not to be forgotten, but in this case it will be virtuous to hold in abeyance all suggestions prompted by the hostilities of the past. Surely the past, the dark, bloody, unfraternal past, should not govern the present, with its promise of internal strength and external achievement. The past is an obstacle that the present ought to remove.

Indirectly, and as a result of the long interval of disunion, an observer is impressed that each side is suspicious of the other, and anxious to get advantage in case a plan of union should be submitted to the legislative bodies of the two Churches. Apparently confiding, applauding the addresses of fraternal delegates, and seemingly just ready to do the right thing, it is discovered after the lapse of an hour that the whole matter is forgotten. Are brethren afraid of political management, one-sided honors, degrading concessions? What is in the way of a successful conference on a subject so grave and so promising of good to the Church of the divine Lord?

Perhaps in some circles it may be questioned if the advantages herein named, and others not named, will exhibit themselves in the practical unity of the two bodies. Possibly those in the South foresee difficulties inherent in the problem of unity not visible to those in the North. Possibly there are difficulties that render the approach of the Churches, or any attempt at consolidation, unwise because premature, and injudicious because certain of failure. If such difficulties exist, they should be named and urged in order to silence that philanthropy that would foster the brotherly oneness of Methodism in America. If such difficulties have their root in prejudice, or are born of history, it will be to our shame to bring them forward as conclusive arguments against so Christian a purpose as is here proposed.

We now ask plainly a leading question: Is our "brother in black" the chief obstacle to the unity of Methodism in America? If so, it may be viewed from three stand-points, to wit: the stand-point of the North,

the stand-point of the South, and the stand-point of the brother himself. Our own Methodism has no special difficulty with him or on account of him; he is in our schools, churches, places of business and is an aid to our work. If one Church can get along with him, why not another? If the older Methodism scruples not to fellowship him in the South, why cannot the Methodism of the South fellowship him? Do they need another lesson in brotherhood? We hope not. From the Southern stand-point the brother is a burden to Methodism from which she must be relieved; but as such relief can only come by the brother going out of our communion, and as our Methodism cannot consent to his expulsion, and would hesitate to consent to his voluntary going, the problem becomes complex, and the division between the Churches is perpetuated. If it is suggested that the brother himself will cheerfully depart, when he is apprized that his presence is an incumbrance, and that these blessed conditions will come about in due time without friction and without effort, it is replied that as guardians of his interest we could never consent to his departure to gratify the prejudice of two generations; nor do we believe that he is at all inclined to go, and until he is we shall not encourage him to think about it.

Let us hope that in both the North and the South such a spirit of patriotism, of love of social order and progress, of religious interest in our fellow-man, and of devout faith in God that he will rule and overrule to the advantage of his Church, will prevail as finally to inspire a movement of fraternity that shall by the strict law of evolution actualize in an organic structure of Churchhood that shall stand as the monument of good-will and peace on earth to the end of time.

NATIONAL POLITICS.

He is not a true citizen who is uninterested in the affairs of government, persistently ignores his responsibilities, and refuses to discharge the duty of suffrage when the time for its exercise is at hand. He may be a social citizen, a kind and philanthropic citizen, but not a true citizen; for citizenship implies privileges, rights, and duties, all of which should be claimed and performed under the conditions and restrictions that brought them into being, and the observance of which is necessary to their perpetuity. In the American republic, especially, is it the duty of the citizen, endowed with self-government, faithfully to inquire into the principles of the civil administration, and to understand the constitutional guarantees of national life. Less than this must result in an illiterate and therefore dangerous citizenship; more than this even is necessary to the highest type of American manhood and strength. If our country were walled in, other nations being barred all fellowship with us, and our numbers were few—in other words, if this were Plato's Republic—even then the citizen should exercise his rights and exhibit his interest in political conditions for the sake of internal order and individual growth and hap-

piness. Inasmuch, however, as ours is the unwalled republic foretold by Ezekiel, and all nations are flowing into it, investing it with an international character, it behooves the citizen to open his eyes and discern the range of his political obligations. He is both a national and international subject, with relations to his own government and through his government to all other governments on the face of the earth. What his government does he does, or is supposed to do, and he partakes of the general responsibility. If he take issue with his government in its conduct toward other nations, or toward internal affairs, or toward himself, he may ally himself with others of the same opinion and purpose, hoping at the proper time and under forms of law to effect a change in the national administration. This is the spirit of politics, the basis of political parties.

From this wide range of government arise the varied policies it must pursue: policies, some of which must be entirely independent of partisan considerations, because the whole people are equally interested; policies that justly exhibit a partisan feature; and policies that seem to be neither non-partisan nor partisan, but are mixed, being pro-party and anti-party at the same time. It is a wise administration that is able so to conduct certain affairs, and execute certain duties, without exciting suspicion of partisan ends—without involving evident one-sidedness in the execution. Yet there is a class of political duties that ought to be exempt from the odor of partisanship, such as international relations, the rights of citizens abroad, the postal system, financial legislation, industrial problems, the immunities of soldiers, and the religious liberty of the citizen. Far removed as these questions are from the domain of partisanship, and somewhat easy of settlement except when bearing a partisan burden, it is evident that they have often been regarded as partisan problems, and the party that disposed of them was entitled to special credit.

We do not object to partisan politics, or that energy that the party displays for the accomplishment of its purpose; but there are political problems that do not belong to the sphere of political partisanship. This is not an ideal political suggestion, or any phase of dilettanteism in politics; it is a protest against the degradation of great national and international questions to the level of pot-house politics, of which the supply has been sufficient. Happily, the tendency is toward just such an emancipation as we indicate, but it may not be fully achieved before the lapse of a decade or two.

We come now to affirm the necessity of partisan action, and to justify partisan policies in the administration of civil government. The political judgment of men will differ as men themselves differ; they will hold to different political theories as they have inherited them or wrought them out for themselves; and they will be found on one side rather than the other of every political question. Partisanship is inherent in the constitution of political life. Miles Standish first, and Alexander Hamilton afterward, represented one type of civilization which early spread over the North and gave color and shape to all her institutions and activities. Originally Puritanic, it modified itself as conditions changed, or was

modified by conditions it could not control, until its chief excellences are of a Western or Occidental character. As this idea of civilization grew, it became the inspiration of a political movement, which in its latest form is understood to be the Republican Party.

This, however, was not the only idea of civil life. Sir Walter Raleigh, and later John C. Calhoun, stood forth as the representatives of ideas not in harmony with the Northern movement. The pro-slavery protoplasm became the basis of Southern civilization, and in time the spirit of a political party called the Democratic Party. Thus the two parties up to 1860 represented two different theories of government, as they have always exponented two different ideas of civilization. While the war of 1861–65 destroyed the Southern conception, the two parties remain, animated by somewhat common purposes, and yet widely differing on political questions, and justifying on the part of each a quadrennial attempt to recover governmental power. Reading the platforms of these parties as adopted by their national conventions in June, one is surprised to find such perfect agreement concerning certain measures, purposes, and laws; as they both agree in the necessity of reducing taxation, of restricting the immigration of the Chinese, of admitting territories to Statehood when the constitutional conditions shall have been observed, of extending sympathy to oppressed Ireland, and of enforcing a practical civil service reform. Neither party can claim a monopoly of these virtuous propositions; but which is the more likely to maintain them after election must be determined by the individual voter, who has history and some other things to guide him in his decision.

The Democratic Party appeals to its record; the Republican Party glorifies its history; the Democratic Party boasts of paying pensions and bounties to soldiers and sailors; the Republican Party condemns President Cleveland for "his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief," and the Democratic House of Representatives for refusing to consider "general pension legislation." In addition to these hints of difference and antagonism, each party pledges special legislation, and promises some things omitted by the other—as the Democratic Party is sure that it will repeal antiquated war legislation, while the Republican Party is emphatic in its purpose to "stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy" in Utah, to reduce postage to one cent per ounce, to recognize gold and silver as money, and to punish offenses against suffrage in the South and restore it where it has been lost. The great difference between the parties respects the Tariff—the Democratic Party practically holding to free trade, as expounded in the President's message, and the Republican Party asserting itself "uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection." If this were the only issue before the American people, as it seems to be the chief issue between the two parties, the attitude of the voter would still be significant, but not so important as if a moral element were involved in the contest. With the one issue only, political excitement will be feeble or intense as the people are more or less interested in industrial occupations, unless old partisan associations and senti-

ments shall still have the power to awaken interest when there is but little at stake. We do not write as a politician, but with judicial fairness as to the political controversy now raging, anxious as to the general verdict, but more anxious as to the ethical result in the national life.

The fact is, that moral issues in politics arouse the people more than *prima facie* partisan issues. We are outgrowing old style campaign fustian, because we prefer moral to political undergirding. Ethical partisanship commends itself more than political partisanship. In political strifes, in national administrations, and in civil life, the moral virtues should be dominant, and the party that platforms them is as sure of an honorable destiny as the party that ignores them is sure of monumental obloquy. As one of the virtues, temperance has entered the political realm, and so commanding is its influence that it has originated another national party, which cannot be despised or shouted out of existence. If there were but two parties, the one pro-liquor and the other anti-liquor, the present contest would be as enthusiastic and the issue as vital as any pro-slavery and anti-slavery contest of the past. Usually it is better that there should be two parties than three, because a square issue is then possible; but since neither of the strong parties will substantially assume the principle of the weak party, its friends claim that it is better for a time that a third party exist. Instead of a right-angled there is therefore a triangular contest, just as interesting as if it were otherwise, though it is clear that the hypothenuse cannot reach the apex of power at this time, and perhaps never. Temperance, however, as a moral doctrine, will triumph in this or some other way, and the people will be satisfied.

The platform of this party is in some particulars very like those of the other parties, as it favors a reduction of taxation, the abolition of polygamy, the observance of civil service laws, arbitration as a method of settlement between *employés* and employers, restriction of immigration, preservation of the sabbath, and prohibition of the "manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages." The platforms of the other parties are essentially political; this is chiefly ethical. The majority of the people just now are in a political mood, but the ethical sentiment will have voice and freedom and power in the coming years. That party that will affirm an ethico-political platform will be the party of the future, as the people once grasping the ethics of politics will relinquish nothing until the ethical principle is embodied in national sovereignty. The campaign before us is by no means an issueless one, though the issue may not be what many have hoped or desired. Let it be an industrial issue now, one certainly vital; it may be a moral issue next time, one supreme in its relation to national progress and the world's revolution in morals. Without any issue, or difference in theory or doctrine, the voter would choose among the candidates that one whom he personally preferred; but a vote is, or should be, something more than the expression of personal preference. It is a political expression, or the recognition of the alignment of a political party; and in the present campaign it may be decisive of a radical change in the industrial policy

of the nation. The person is of value only as he is the exponent of that policy.

In accordance with custom and in recognition of his faithful services to the country, the Democratic Party presents again as a representative of the free-trade doctrine that honored servant, Grover Cleveland. His friends believe, the party itself believes, that through his re-election the "benefits of Democracy" will inure to the people as never before, and on this basis they ask for a renewal of power and a re-occupation of the presidency.

With a cordial unanimity in their convention the Republican Party presents to the country for the presidency the honored name of Benjamin Harrison, of presidential ancestry, of patriotic blood, of legislative experience, of Christian faith and character. It is evident that this candidacy is not only meritorious on its own account, but is peculiarly strategic in its bearings, and furnishes the material for extensive political predictions.

Prior to these great conventions, however, that other party—a camel sticking his nose in the tent—agreed that Clinton B. Fisk, the man of unblemished reputation, of adequate abilities, and of personal magnetism, such as give men power, should represent the moral virtue of politicalism, and enthusiasm has prevailed among his friends and in the party from coast to coast.

We make no account of three or four other organizations or parties so-called, as they are in sympathy if not in league with one or the other of the parties named; but all are enthusiastic, and in their way all are hopeful. All are really great—the third embryonically great, the others absolutely so—but the greatest party is that which, rooted in the truth, never forsakes it, though for a time it is crushed with it.

The duty of the citizen is manifest. He should vote; and while it is not our province to attempt to instruct him how he shall vote, it is not a violation of our position to suggest that he should be governed in his choice by all the purposes of the party to which he attaches himself; he should know what the election of any party means to the country, the world, himself; he should join conscience to judgment, and warm his sympathies at the altar of righteousness; he should ground his allegiance to candidacies and platforms in fundamental principles—not in their history alone, but in the capacity of parties to administer government, in their affiliation with moral law, and in their fellowship with the better citizenship of the country; then, whatever the result, he can rejoice in his citizenship and worship God as the King of nations as well as of saints.

DANIEL CURRY.

Like some gigantic oak, fatigued with age, he fell in fulfillment of the law of life; or, like Hector in battle, he died warring for the right; or, speaking after the manner of a pagan, he severed the earthly tie and entered the abode of the gods.

Methodism is not without a long list of men eminent for scholarship and established in their influence in the hemispheres of human action and progress; but they did not all come upon the stage at once, nor have they possessed equal power in the domain of thought and inquiry. Of commentators the names of Whedon and Nast are conspicuous; of scientists Winchell is an exponent; of metaphysicians Bowne is supreme; of theologians Merrill, Raymond, and Foster are suggestive; of *littérateurs* McClintock and Hurst are at the front; of orators none have doubted the pre-eminence of Simpson, Durbin, Thomson, Newman, and Fowler.

Early Methodism, as all initiative movements, required specialists, who appeared with every necessity. Was it a Church founder? Behold an Asbury. Was a controversialist needed? Emory defended the fathers, and the fathers slept undisturbed. Was the massive theologian, the orator with his philippics, the pastor with his revivalism, and the layman with his prayers, in special demand? They arose on every hand, and made themselves known. The educator or the literary man, as such, appeared later; he waited his turn. His hour came, and he made his mark. In spite of utilitarianism the present age is distinguished for the presence of the scholar, the educator, the author, the editor, the man of letters.

In the list of prominent literary characters we find the name of Daniel Curry, our predecessor in office; a man of intellectual virility; a giant; a wrestler with concrete ideas; profound in conviction, intense in purpose, a progressive, almost an iconoclast; fearless, responsive to the beauty of truth, a permanent friend, a safe ally, a tremendous foe. The Wesleyan University furnished his educational equipment, which he employed in the defense of the Christian faith as he interpreted it for fifty years, earning the respect of those who differed with him as he received the love of those who were in a sense his disciples. His ecclesiastical positions were various, all of them testing and enlarging him, and fitting him for the greater work of his final years. Now he is president of a university; resigning, he spends a few years in the pastorate; then he assumes the editorship of *The Christian Advocate;* later he presides over the *Ladies' Repository;* and still later he edits the *Methodist Review.* During the years of official position, impelled by a scholarly taste, he enters the field of authorship, exhibiting both a productive and thoughtful mind, and taking high rank as a writer on great themes.

In measuring the man we must not forget the external indications of a great soul within. Full-statured, yet with stooping shoulders, possessed of facial features not exactly attractive, with a weak and harsh voice, his physique was a compromise; he was commanding in appearance, yet so rugged as to excite a questionable feeling of homage. He was majestic,

and yet the majesty was lost in a kind of fear that it awakened. In short, he was a contradiction of attractions and repulsions, of which he was partly conscious, and which he was none too careful to guard or regulate. His friendships grew out of this composite character, and accordingly were strong or weak or indifferent, but always coveted and enjoyed.

It is not our purpose fully to enumerate or consider his characteristics, as he was so well known and they have so often been indicated as to relieve us of the necessity of more than mentioning them. As to his intellectual resources, Dr. Curry was not deep but broad—broad enough for the most scholarly position in the kingdom of thought. He was a great reader, and so was well stocked with information. Like a great steamer, he was at home in the great ocean of truth, fearing not the fiercest storm, enjoying the pleasantest calm. Dr. Whedon was deep, profound; Dr. Curry broad and vast in comprehension. The one could pilot himself in the dark; the other walked with a sunbeam for his staff. Dr. Whedon could handle the problem of the will; Dr. Curry could not understand it. Dr. Whedon constructed a theodicy; Dr. Curry felt that it was beyond his comprehension. Dr. Whedon dealt with abstractions; Dr. Curry dwelt in the concrete. The one could theorize; the other could tabulate results. The one was theological; the other historical. Granting that Dr. Curry was a thinker, it is not too much to say that he was wanting in consecution, and, therefore, in a particular kind of effectiveness. He had ideas, but lacked method; his conceptions were abundant, but they were miscellaneously presented. Dr. Francis Wayland was distinguished for method without ideas; Dr. Curry stood out as a man of ideas without method. The one was a tree without fruit; the other a tree upside down, but somehow bearing large fruit.

With this marked defect in his intellectual character, he was independent in assertion, and won his way rather by the strength of his convictions than by the logical form of their expression. He held to creeds as a partial necessity, but did not feel bound by them. He was broad enough to see some merit in certain Calvinistic interpretations of the Scriptures, but this exposed him to the charge of being a Calvinistic Methodist. Such was Whitefield, but Dr. Curry always repudiated this odium as applied to himself. His independence of spirit was very manifest in his relations to ecclesiastical usages and his opinions of dignitaries, whether in Church or State. He was understood to be antagonistic to certain of our ecclesiastical regulations, and was foremost in the quiet advocacy of diocesan episcopacy, not so much in express terms as in that leavening influence that grew out of his criticisms of the prevailing superintendency. He was a mechanician, therefore a reconstructionist of Church usages, favoring the abandonment of all forms and rules that were not adapted to existing conditions and demands. This position singled him out as a radical advocate of questionable measures, bringing upon him no little opposition from certain quarters, and yet securing for himall the advantages of leadership in the new movements of the Church.

His sympathy with young men was both a pleasing and striking characteristic, making him popular when he was on the unpopular side of a question, and insuring him a victory when perhaps he had not fairly won it. In every General Conference of which he was a member he had the influence and support of the young men, stimulating them to high purposes as they rallied to his standard, and inspiring them with the same courage that constituted him their leader.

With his grand endowments, his rare gifts of moral excellence, his masterly positions in the Church, and with every opportunity of the largest success, it will not be claimed by those who were his truest friends that his career was marked by brilliancy or evolved into that kind of success that is monumental or far reaching. His life was honorable, and the impression he made upon his generation was wholesome and deep-rooted; yet neither as pastor, nor preacher, nor educator, nor author, did he attain to the highest eminence. He was greatest in the editorial department, being regarded as a strong writer and a progressive advocate; but as a magazine editor he fell behind expectations, the magazines that he edited declining in power and influence. In purely editorial work he was at his best, as is evidenced by that department in the *Review* during the last quadrennium, and by the acknowledged ability with which he conducted *The Christian Advocate* for three successive terms, though the careful examiner of its files will soon discover the usual mark of the absence of method. Student as he was, he ought to have succeeded in the sphere of authorship, but his mind was of the newspaper cast that unfits, though it does not necessarily disqualify, one for the closer and more recondite task of the author. His was also a polemical mind, eager for contest; he was an expert in debate, and when on the right side he was terrific in onslaught on the wrong, and eloquent in vindication of the right. His best work was done during the last twenty years of his life, a period not of unmingled infirmity, but of heroic devotion to the duties of his position. Like Gladstone, he resisted superannuation as an outrage upon humanity, and charmed away the evil day until his power to charm was broken. His latter years reflected none of the pessimism of an infirm belief, none of the darkness of a cultured unfaith; on the contrary, they were bright with the glory of a New Testament hope, and ended with the evidence of the joy unspeakable. A free mind—Abraham-like, looking beyond his time—he yet was fixed in his affections upon truth, and was rooted in the knowledge acquired both by patient investigation and a conscious experience of the method, essence, and power of salvation. Undemonstrative, he was faithful; critical, he was established.

Mrs. Browning's line,

"Death crowns the completed life,"

is appropriate to the name of him to whose memory we, in duty and reverence for the dead, pay this brief tribute.

FOREIGN RÉSUMÉ.

THE GENERAL SITUATION.

We are glad to herald a general movement among the faculties and students of the German universities to gain a nearer approach to the hearts and interests of the poorer classes. This is developed in a recent organization in the Heidelberg University of an academic association for the advance of home mission work among the neglected and the outcasts. This is a step forward among those whose theory has too long been that their calling is that of learned seclusion. If ancient Heidelberg starts such a movement it will be quite likely to extend to the newer schools.

Adding to this, the Prussian Minister of Public Instruction recommends the formation of a commission to study and report on the subject of higher scientific instruction for women, and especially on the training of female teachers for this work, instead of depending, as heretofore, solely on male instructors for this line of teaching. And the wives and daughters of Berlin are justifying this attention on the part of high government officials by issuing a call to the "women of the Fatherland" to join in erecting a thank-offering to God in memory of the venerated Emperor William. This will probably take the form of a "William's Church," to act as a people's church for the masses. This universal reverence and love for Emperor William is quite phenomenal, and extends far beyond the borders of his own land.

There is also just now quite a revival of Masonic interest throughout Europe, with the new feature, to them, of benevolence rather than secrecy. The great lodge in France is the "Grand Orient" in Paris, where originate most of the movements now spreading to other countries. The Italian Grand Orient responds to this by sending messengers throughout all the Italian colonies for the establishment of branches. Although this fact is not openly expressed, it is quite clear that this Masonic revival is a general movement throughout the Old World to counteract the papal and Jesuitical intrigues now so rife in many of the colonies under European control. The Belgian Masons, who for some time have been alienated from those of Germany and France, are now again seeking affiliation.

Nearly all the capitals of Europe are the arenas of some phase of the agitation for Sabbath observance. The feeling is perhaps most rife in Switzerland, and there most active in Geneva. The programme there laid down by the workers in this phase of *moral* reform—for as such they mainly treat it—would do credit to England itself, which is surpassed by zeal in this cause by Scotland only. Throughout Germany the effort at reform comes mainly in the style of government commands or ordinances, while in other lands the effort seems to take on the characteristic of logical reasoning, with the endeavor to persuade one element of the population and convince the other. The popular phase of the arguments is now mostly that of justice to the toilers: "Six days shalt thou labor."

I. RELIGIOUS.

SWITZERLAND continues her religious and political activity, though surrounded by lands that seem wholly absorbed with the matter of standing armies as a means of maintaining peace. The Salvation Army there is a source of much agitation and discontent, and has been the cause of several bloody conflicts and not few legal battles. In no land is it more unpopular, and many who have long been friends of religious liberty hold their peace in the midst of the opposition to this movement.

Not long ago a monster petition was gotten up in the Canton of Vaud demanding the most energetic measures against the Salvationists. And in reference to it one of the most respectable of the religious journals of the land held the following words: "The work of the Salvation Army is in our eyes one of the most destructive to the real spirit of Christianity, but we must combat it with divine weapons and spiritual means, and not by violence. Exceptional measures and persecutions only strengthen it; silence kills it—for it is no work of God, but a fever imported from England that will the sooner subside if it is ignored."

The Evangelical National Union of Zurich is one of the most successful and active of the associations for Christian work. Its library, now forty years old, numbers more than seven hundred and fifty subscribers. The colporteurs are distributing large numbers of Bibles and tracts, and the retreats are sheltering guests every night; the House of Deaconesses now has seventy-one sisters, with thirty probationers, and no less than nine agents are working in the cause of city missions. In the city of St. Gallen a so-called positivist clergyman was elected because of a split in the ranks of his opponents. In Basel there is a decided reaction against the radical spirit that has obtained for the last few years. The newly established Parity Schools, as they are called, in which both religions are taught, are found to be used by Catholics and free-thinkers to the neglect of the Protestant children, which fact has caused a good deal of dissatisfaction, so that a proposition is now on foot to establish a graded Christian elementary school. A subscription list is now being circulated to secure the means to that end.

Along the shore of the Lake of Geneva there are many small inns of doubtful character that house ten thousand guests in the course of the year. The half of these at least would prefer the temperance and Christian inns if they could be found, and a committee has been formed of the most influential people to provide a goodly number of these. In the canton of Freiburg there has been within the last decade a great increase in the consumption of strong liquor, so that it has affected the military fitness of large numbers of young men. In ten years the proportion has fallen from 33 to 12 per cent. of the male population. This alarming state of things has caused the formation of a so-called "League of the Cross," whose object is to decrease the use of alcoholic drinks among young men. The decrease of intemperance from the military motive, though not the highest, is a favorable indication, and to be commended.

Deaconesses in Germany.—The system of deaconesses is now so widespread in Germany that we naturally look thither in the preliminary efforts to introduce them among us. And we cannot perhaps do better than to give a concise account of their work in the central city of the Fatherland, namely, Frankfort-on-the-Main.

In that city the institution of deaconesses began about twenty-five years ago, and thus wise: A few Christian men and women met for the purpose of establishing an association for the care of the sick and assistance to the poor by voluntary workers in the form of trained nurses and care-takers obtained as deaconesses. Thus arose in the city the Evangelical Union of Deaconesses, at the head of which stood the principal Protestant pastors in the place. By means of this association, a few sisters were obtained from the mother-house in Carlsruhe, who undertook the founding and guidance of the institution. This work was greatly favored by God, so that in five years Frankfort had its own mother-house as a training-school for workers, and could dispense with the original founders, so that they could go and cultivate other fields.

This establishment soon had its own superior, and entered on a course of instruction for private nurses as well as for those for the general work of benevolence. In a few years more this enterprise had its own beautiful building, and was fairly on the way to its present size and large sphere of operations. The sisterhood, which was first recruited in the immediate neighborhood, now counts among its workers members from all parts of Germany, with the practical experience of many regions. Its numbers have now grown to seventy-four, and its leading and controlling spirit is the Baroness Feltheim, from Brunswick. Its field of operations has already extended far beyond the bounds of the city, and now takes in many sections and villages of the immediate suburbs. The work is also now not confined simply to the care of the poor and the sick, but goes out to the children, who are taken and trained to useful manual labor, whereby they may earn a comfortable living; even old women come in for training of this kind, that they may better supplement their wants.

In the suburbs of Frankfort last year 757 families received aid and care, and about 14,000 visits were made to the poor and needy. In the mother-house 259 sick were cared for last year, and numerous families were visited and assisted by day and by night. Not far from the mother-house a colony has been founded, where, in a comfortable and well-appointed house surrounded by gardens, poor, sickly, and weak women and children find a permanent home; these are cared for by seven sisters who have now in their charge 37 invalid women and 18 sickly children. Not far from this establishment there is an eye-hospital for the poor, a training-school for female servants, and an old ladies' home, all under the general care of the association of deaconesses.

In order to carry on this work of love large sums are needed and received; these come from regular voluntary subscriptions, from penny collections in schools and churches, and from free gifts. The figures of this sphere of activity throughout Germany are astonishing. Thousands

of persons of all the different Protestant faiths are engaged in it, and scrcely a city or a town in the great land is now without some form of deaconess benevolence.

THE ITALIANS are wise enough not to forget, with all the talk and dazzle of the Curia, that it is their irreconcilable enemy, and will remain so. But they also know that said Curia has in its own land but very few adherents. It is true that in Rome, where a multitude of papal officials are pensioners supported by Peter's-pence and lead an easy life, where the cloisters again flourish, and many a good opportunity smiles on the adherents of the Pope—there they can operate to their own advantage, but scarcely elsewhere in Italy. The field for the Jesuits just now are the missions; their long fingers reach these every-where. As a proof we give the following: It is well known that since the opening of the Suez Canal and the occupation of Massowah the national aspirations are turning toward the Orient. Commercial and scientific associations follow one another in quick succession, either to shape measures or profit by them. The latest movement of this kind is a "National Association to Aid Catholic Italian Missions." It is now extending its nets and gaining adherents; they have already commenced to make collections. A Professor Stoppani at Milan recently delivered a lecture in the defense of the good cause. What he desires is the diffusion of the Italian tongue and influence under the direction of these missionaries, in order to revive the faith and the patriotism of the Italian emigrants in Africa and the Orient.

The point they make, then, is a religious and patriotic work, while the association is a veritable propaganda of the faith. The Jesuits guide their proselytes in their work and never abandon them. They regard them as the pioneers of civilization. The most discreditable feature of this movement is the willingness of the Italian Jesuits to put themselves under the shield of France in foreign lands in this work of the Propaganda, though hated and antagonized by them politically. Indeed, the papal Italians will bow to any other sovereign rather than to King Humbert; this little incident is an example: The King of Italy goes to Florence and the archbishop does not deign to pay him any attention. The Queen of England goes to Florence, and said prelate calls on her majesty, thus the more emphatically showing disrespect to his own sovereign.

IN BOHEMIA the Old Catholics seem to be holding their own better than anywhere else, perhaps because of the lingering spirit of the early Reformation. In spite of the two great drawbacks—want of means and antagonism of the government—they are evidently progressing. At a recent convocation of the various congregations a very encouraging report was made. The most important events of the year were the meeting of the Old Catholic Synod and the realization of a fund for the sustentation of the pastors. In two months some 5,000 florins were obtained for it. The general report gave 221 baptisms, 160 interments, and 60 marriages, showing that these functions are no longer interfered with on the side of the

government, which for a time demanded that they should be performed by regularly appointed priests. In one parish of 3,000 souls there were a hundred baptisms, showing an estimated number of 7,000 Old Catholics. The parish consists mainly of adults, since children of from seven to fourteen years may not change their faith. It is proposed now to establish two new parishes, if the permission can be obtained from the government. The want of means is the great hinderance to this work, as the people are left to themselves in this field, while the Catholic Church receives a full support. The number of places in which now are found principal or filial congregations has increased in a year from 53 to 78. In one village the people went over *en masse*, so that a Catholic church was granted to them for their divine service.

THE JEWISH MISSION WORK throughout the world has just been reported with great accuracy by Dr. Dalman, who is one of the best authorities on this subject. His relations to all the mission centers in Europe and America give him opportunity to present his theme with great completeness and certainty.

In the beginning of the present century there was but a single Jewish mission, which was founded in 1767 by the learned Edzard in Hamburg —the father of the Jewish mission work among the Germans. In 1808 there was founded in London the Society for the Propagation of Christianity among the Jews, whose first missionary was a German proselyte by the name of Frey, who had been educated in Berlin for work among the heathen. The society established at that time with this one missionary has since grown to great proportions. It now employs 135 mission-workers in Europe, Asia, and North America, and has a yearly income of nearly $200.000. To this society has been added, since its beginning, 45 others—13 in Great Britain and Ireland, 11 in Germany, 5 in Switzerland, the Netherlands, and France, 5 in Scandinavia, 4 in Russia, and 7 in North America.

All of these societies combined employ 377 workers at 132 stations, and have a yearly income of nearly $400,000. Germany is not very zealous in supplying funds for the work, and in this respect stands even after Scandinavia. This is most probably because of the strong prejudice against the Jews in that country. Great Britain gives annually one cent for each Protestant, Scandinavia a farthing, and Germany one fourth of the latter. A remarkable increase of interest in this work has been observed since 1870. No less than twenty-five societies have arisen since that year. France, Scotland, and Russia have entered on the work, which has been extended even to Palestine. But of the 3,000,000 of Jews in Russia and the 700,000 of Galicia a very small fraction have heard the tidings of the Gospel. As matters now stand, there is but one missionary to 200.000 Jews. This is a fearful disproportion to the missions among the heathen, in view of the strength and patience required for mission effort among the Jews. The greatest need just now is among the Jews of Russia and Galicia, who are in a very low state of civilization.

PROTESTANT ROME, as the little city of Geneva, in Switzerland, is often called, is the central point for the Protestantism of all French-speaking lands. From here go forth the messengers who seek the strongholds of Catholicism, and who devote their time, wealth, and often their entire life, to the work of evangelization. Here assemble all Protestant convocations, and here is the seat of so many Protestant committees for the various purposes of home and foreign missions. And here, above all, rules the Protestant spirit in public life more than in any other European city.

Since the establishment of the Free Church the religious life of the city has made a marked advance. This "*Eglise libre*," peculiar creation of French Switzerland, sprang from the mighty efforts to separate the Church from the State. A large number of the most religiously inclined families and many pastors withdrew from the State Church because they considered the influence of an infidel government as very baneful for the Church. This Church was then founded with solidly organized congregations, a few pastors, and their own edifices. All the expenses of public worship were met by the voluntary contributions of the members. It was a bold experiment on the part of the few to undertake such a task. But they now have the best and most zealous preachers, their churches are the best filled, their members have the firmest principles and lead the purest lives, and this Church has become a blessing for the Protestantism of French Switzerland.

The Free Church has also exerted an excellent influence on the State Church. Both Churches have now about twenty edifices, in which are regularly heard two sermons on the Sabbath. Geneva has now 60,000 Protestant inhabitants and eighty clergymen, mostly men of high social position and unusual merit. Besides the regular Protestant clergymen of Geneva there come others from Lausanne and France—not a few indeed from Paris—to attend religious conventions or to preach. Men like Monod and Bersier gather thousands of the faithful around them in the old cathedral of the city. A poor sermon is seldom heard in Geneva, for the men are capable, and their discourses are carefully prepared. Many of these preachers exchange with others in French Switzerland, and not seldom go to Paris and fill churches there with hearers.

THE WALDENSES have lately held what they call an evangelical commission in Rome, at which they made an annual report of their work, from which it would seem that they are quite active in a species of mission labor. They report 124 persons engaged in it at present; 37 of these are ordained pastors, 6 are evangelists, 10 are evangelist teachers, 5 evangelist colporteurs, 56 male and female teachers, 6 Bible readers, etc. Of this corps 42 are Waldenses by birth, 6 are Protestants of other faiths, and 52 are converts from Catholicism. They have 43 churches, 38 stations, and 178 transient charges. This evangelistic work of the Waldenses claims to reach about 80,000 persons in the course of the year. These workers avoid controversy, and simply preach the cross, so that the Catholics accuse them of being able to talk about nothing but Jesus Christ.

In Spain the French preachers are working with much success, mainly sustained by the mission house of Lausanne. Pastor Bonnard is the leader in this good work, and sustains a Protestant mission in Barcelona, through the aid of Pastor Empaytaz, who has become quite famous for his adaptation to the enterprise. They hold regular service in a few chapels, and have gospel meetings in eleven private houses, each one of which will average an attendance of ten. Ten Sunday-schools collect about 250 children, and six day-schools 112. There are connected with this work 120 communicants. Pastor Empaytaz reports the success as very encouraging, and calls for more workers. The committee in Lausanne are trying to comply with this call as best they can with their limited means.

II. LITERARY.

Church Art is receiving at present a great deal of attention throughout Germany; indeed, there is quite a revival in this line of religious culture in comparison with the lassitude of former decades. The Protestant Churches are sharing in this more than the Catholic. The masses are acquiring the consciousness that the house of God ought to be something more than a mere inclosed space with naked walls and no adornment. A large number of Protestant churches, great and small, have arisen in these later years that are agreeable testimonies of this fact. The clergy are leading the people in this effort to develop church art, and the literary world is joining in the work. New periodicals are being founded to take the place of those that have ceased to exist and others that were of little value. The *Christian Art Journal*, of Stuttgart, is one of these, edited with good taste, and combining always the practical with the artistic side.

The restoration of several Catholic cathedrals of late years has given a new impetus to this movement. In the city of Bonn there was lately organized an association for the encouragement of Christian art, among whose members and supporters are some of the first literary and artistic names of Germany. They have also just founded a new periodical devoted to church art, which promises well. This publication proposes to be a leader and counselor of practical artists, and also to encourage the clergy to make a study of the subject and educate the people as far as they can in a taste for improvement in the artistic character of church edifices. The work thus seems to have begun with such zeal as to insure good results.

The Religious Orders are causing a good deal of anxiety to the Germans, as they are fast returning to their old stamping-grounds. Their presence will, of course, be most acceptable to the Catholic champions of the Church. A distinguished German divine, Dr. Schramm, of Bremen, is taking the field against them in a monograph entitled, *The Danger in the Revival of the Cloisters of Germany*. In this pamphlet he shows great knowledge of his subject, and meets the case with ad-

mirable judgment and unanswerable argument. He regards the return of the orders as a threat to Protestantism, especially as they are accompanied by the so-called "congregations," which are more practical organizations for popular appeal. The Protestant Church and Protestant popular element will have much to fear from this army of Jesuits with their cohorts who, under Jesuitical discipline and command, will not stop short of all their aims.

LAVELEYE, the renowned Belgian publicist and political economist, has lately given to the world a very interesting work concerning the Balkan Peninsula, a region which is likely to continue to attract attention as long as the Eastern question is on the boards. The author is a philosopher as well as economist, and more than most men has the valuable power to rise above the mist of partisanism and regard his study with impartiality. In the first chapter of the work the author treats of his journey to the East in the interest of the great question of the balance of power among the European nations. He meets the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the famous Slavonic Bishop Strossmayer, one of the most liberal prelates of Hungary. In the fourth chapter he treats of Bosnia, its past and its present, and gives a very vivid objective description of the country. While seeming at times to skip over the surface, he is really studying the underlying facts of these peoples, and the information that he gives is quite new to the world. The work is now being translated into several languages.

THE LAND OF LUTHER, strange to say, is now getting many Bibles from other lands. The British, Scotch, and American Bible Societies sent them 88,000 last year. The absence of the Apocrypha in foreign Bibles is quite a bar to their circulation, and gives thus the advantage to the German Bibles. In the circulation of the New Testament the comparison is reversed. While the German societies circulate all together 65,000, the British society distributed no less than 151,000, to which may be added the 49,000 sent by the Scotch and the American societies. In spite of these numbers but a small portion of the people as yet have the Bible. It seems peculiar that there should be a controversy between the German and the British societies. The Germans do not like the activity of the British society, and accuse them of making money by the operation.

THE FRENCH *Review of Christian Art*, in a late number, gives some statistics about the curious subject of the *relics of the passion of Christ* in Rome. From this authority it would seem that eleven churches in Rome claim to have altogether no less than nineteen thorns from the crown of Christ, and there are fragments of the same in three other churches. Other relics are quoted as follows: The napkin with which the Saviour wiped his hands at the Last Supper; pieces from the true cross found in seven churches; two nails from the cross in two churches. Two churches also have specimens of the blood and the water that flowed from the side of Christ. Such superstitions will finally fade in the light of an aggressive Protestantism.

MODERN PROGRESS.

THE present is the "age on ages telling." Without discounting other periods in human history, or at all forgetting the heroic enterprises of the adventurous spirits of other times, ours is *the* age of discovery, invention, intellectual acquisitions, ethical accumulations, and the mastery of all things in opposition to man. He was empowered to exercise dominion in the earth, not by arbitrary force, but by such familiarity with law, such knowledge of the forms of matter, such insight into the designs of his Creator, and such introspective attainments as would place him in possession of the scepter of power and the crown of honor. To this ultimatum man has always subscribed and history has always contributed, working here a little and there a little to displace an obstacle, reduce a foe, or shine away the darkness that encompassed the trail of those in leadership. Thus history has been made; epochs have stood out like promontories on the edges of the great sea of life; decadences have been followed by volcanic disturbances of the old order of things, and the outcome, silently or violently reached, has been progressive and enduring. That the present is the summit of history thus far wrought is the logic of the divine arrangement. Hence it is more interesting than any other period, not only because we are associated with it, but because of its inherent accomplishments and promise of successively greater unfoldings and accumulations. Keen-sighted was Galileo; deserving of honor was Descartes; useful was Palissy; as an explorer Mungo Park was brave and thorough; the Elizabethan era is peerless in English history; Watts and Morse will outlive monuments of granite; Wesley, Whitefield, Calvin, Luther, cannot die out of the world. But granting that other days were blessed with gifted sons, whose work was a part of the divine plan for the reconstruction of the world after a pattern of beauty and righteousness, it was left to this day to advance still farther toward the Infinite and the completion of the cosmical idea. Discoveries without number; inventions indicative of a divine genius in man; psychological researches that would have startled Plato; questions, proofs, the pushing of the intellect into all realms, mark this age, as phenomenal and conspicuous for all that constitutes an age.

A department that shall take cognizance of man's progress and report it step by step, so far as space will permit, is now opened in the *Review*, with the belief that it will minister to the general demand for a modern characterization of human activity. The restraint that shall govern the department shall be the bearing of the items reported on the general subject of religion in its anthropological phases, a scope large enough for our attention, and in harmony with the lofty purposes of the *Review*.

If the declaration of Russia, that after December next she will in no event interfere with the affairs of Bulgaria, be sincere and be observed, that unfortunate country will rise as a new star on the horizon of the Oriental world. The Protestantization of Bulgaria is henceforth a glorious probability, and within reach of accomplishment.

The projected exploration of Babylonia by an American party, under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, is a unique proceeding, and in the line of biblical as well as general archæology. In 1885 an American expedition, under the leadership of Dr. W. H. Ward, supported by the generous contribution of Miss Catherine L. Wolfe, reconnoitered the country, and reported in favor of an exhaustive exploration. The present movement is the supplement of the first, or rather, the development of the suggestion into practical proportions and an attitude of definite expectancy. The party, having left this country, will arrive at Aleppo early in October, and will commence work in November. The field of exploration is that between the Tigris and Euphrates, in which it is supposed at least fifty or sixty cities lie buried, containing enough well-preserved history to settle all historic questions that can be settled in that way. Babylonia includes far more than the supposed site of Babylon; the latter being covered by a mound ten miles square, the former embracing a whole country. The Rev. John P. Peters, Ph.D., the director of the party, proposes to employ Arabs in the work of excavation, paying them from ten to twenty cents a day, and the instruments will be picks, shovels, and wheelbarrows taken from America. The time allotted to the expedition will depend upon the concessions of the Turkish government. If favorable the work may continue for years, the shortest period intended by the party being one year. Much may be expected from this movement.

Canst thou speak Volapük? It is a coming language, not to supplant national languages, nor to become the great international language, except in a commercial and itinerary sense. Simple in construction—for it is a manufactured tongue—self-evident in etymology, and a general plagiarist from all languages, it is easily acquired and ready for use. Whatever the motive—amusement, novelty, business, travel—millions are reported to have studied it, and are exchanging it for their native tongues. It is colloquial, and a great aid to the traveler, the business man, and the correspondent. In ninety days one can master it.

New York is the only State in the Union that limits the ground of divorce to adultery. Other States grant divorce for many causes, but few of which should be considered as sufficient by the parties to action, much less by a commonwealth of the Republic. The attitude of New York is Scriptural and praiseworthy. Other States should obey God in this matter.

So despicable in character and so unphilosophical in teaching was Schopenhauer that when the one hundredth anniversary of his birth occurred the Philosophical Society of Berlin refused to honor his memory by panegyric or otherwise. The modern philosopher thus pays tribute to moral character, and discards the worthless theory of his brother. The world is awake.

The peculiarities of the movement headed by Dr. Sivartha to repeople and reconstruct Palestine, and so fulfill the prophecies, are in themselves obstacles to success; and, like many previous attempts, it will not accomplish its purpose. First, it is sounded abroad that this is a methodical effort to bring to pass whatsoever has been written concerning the restoration of Israel, when it is not fully settled what the prophecies mean. Exegetes are divided in opinion as to the literal or spiritual interpretation of these future word utterances of the seers; yet this modern leader assumes his interpretation to be correct. The effort itself is too mechanical to command the resources necessary to success. Second, the Jews, supposed to be involved in the prophecies, are almost excluded in the fulfillment, about one sixth being the proportion in this colonization scheme, five sixths consisting of Englishmen and Americans. Third, if political tactics and business principles are to guide the movement it is likely to make shipwreck of itself before it is full-grown. The engineer of the prophecies into fulfillment must be a man like Abraham, called of God to foresee, devise, and plan, not according to established methods of immigration, but rather according to the will of the Most High as it is revealed to him in the unfolding of processes and history. To the movement we have no objection; it is a sign of the times; but its foundation and character do not inspire faith.

The centenary of Christian missions in the pagan world, as celebrated in London, was remarkable for the numbers present, the subjects discussed, the enthusiasm manifested, and the inspiration it has already breathed into the missionary purposes of Christendom. Twelve hundred members—two hundred of them from the United States and Canada—engaged in their work with spirit, ability, and a comprehensive survey of the field, with its difficulties, its advantages, and prospects. The Earl of Aberdeen was President. The Rev. Dr. Thompson, of the American Board, representing the United States, said, "We come to help take an inventory of evangelistic achievements during the last hundred years." The conflict between Christianity and Islam; the faiths of Confucius and Buddha; the importance of medical missions; the effect of the traffic in drink and opium among the heathen; the work in Fiji, among the Papuans, in Persia, Arabia, Turkey, Greece, America, every-where, had ample ventilation, definite conclusions being generally reached in all cases. The Conference met in peace, and adjourned in hope.

It is a modern astonishment that, seeing the wave of reform rising in Great Britain, Lord Salisbury, the great Tory leader, has fathered a bill for reforming the House of Lords. For long the Liberals have threatened the overthrow of that superannuated body, its members resisting because of the emoluments and prerogatives of the life-tenure peerage. At last a crevice has been made in the rock of offense by one who has often taken rest beneath its broad and protecting shadow.

Woman is ascending to the possession of her rights. The Women's College of Baltimore, not yet open, with $350,000 back of it—the Women's Clubs of London, one literary, another a fashionable resort—the higher education of women discussed by the American Institute of Instruction—women as journalists, merchants, lawyers, physicians—women as voters in some States, as teachers, wives, and mothers in all—women as philanthropists, agents of God, co-workers with man—women as accepted examples of purity and all that religion enjoins or incarnates: there are signs of a superior age and proofs that woman is approaching the day of power.

Comte de Mirabeau, born A. D. 1749, first a leader of the Liberal party in France, later an influential member of the States-General and National Assembly, then the president of the Club of Jacobins—a body of men that organized the French Revolution—has been honored with a monumental statue, the unveiling of which occurred at Montargis, August 5. He had less dash and cruelty than Robespierre, but was wiser, and was distinguished for a self-controlling energy that made him a valuable accession to the Revolutionists. With an enthusiasm more volatile than philanthropic, the French have remembered a countryman whose services in their behalf were not in vain. This is to their credit, whether he deserved it or not.

If Pope Leo XIII. should remove to an islet in the Mediterranean, it would prove the sincerity of the threat to abandon Rome announced by his predecessor, Pius IX., and repeated often by the reigning pope himself. Cardinal Rampolla may issue circular notes to the powers arraigning the Italian government for its insensibility of the prerogatives of the Vatican, but it will not avail. Intolerance of temporal sovereignty as claimed by the pope is a mark of this age, and if he cannot endure it the hiding of himself in the sea would be appropriate. He will not go, however; he never has intended to leave Rome. Rome can spare him, but he cannot spare Rome.

The archæologist continues to surprise the world, to enlarge the historic horizon, and to confirm as well as overthrow many historic presuppositions. The cuneiform tablets recently unearthed at Tel el-Amarva in Egypt reveal in part the correspondence of Amenophis IV., "the heretic king," who transferred the capital from Thebes to his own city. Forty letters are in the Boulak Museum, sixty have been sent to the British Museum, and one hundred and sixty have been shelved in the Rainer Museum at Vienna. They bear date about B. C. 1430. The Egyptian king is addressed as "the Sungod . . . whose name is Masu." Prof. Sayce intimates that this name points to Moses.

The "tomb of Thebes" has given to the world a "Book of the Dead," written on Egyptian papyrus, which is well preserved, undimmed in color, and complete in text and illustrations.

Pan-Presbyterianism, in its superb council in London, considered the accruments that must result from the establishment of a lay ministry a subject none too early discussed, and to which all denominations should give heed. Lay workers, ordained or unordained, are very useful, and in many instances may succeed when the regular pastor would fail. In the council over the water lay ministers in orders were designated "subornate elders."

The advocates of manual training in Schools and Colleges are multiplying, and the arguments for it are being accepted as conclusive and prophetic. Ex-President Hayes is its most prominent patron; but it claims more than individual patronage. The University Convention held in Albany, N. Y., approved a paper on the subject by Prof. N. M. Butler of Columbia College, while the American Institute of Education in session at Newport, R. I., gave its recommendation to the new form of education.

The *New York Tribune* does not interpret the proposed adoption of Christianity by Japan as the national religion as a progressive movement, but merely the exchange of the old religions, altogether ceremonial, for one chiefly spiritual, but whose ceremonials have so attracted the Japanese mind that it prefers them to those it has observed. This is a superficial estimate of the exchange, or movement; for while the spiritual force of Christianity may not be immediately felt by the nation, the stolid obstacles to Christian progress will be out of the way, and as the spiritual character of the new religion shall be apprehended, it will permeate and dominate the national life. Japan is likely to fulfill the prediction of a nation being born in a day.

The assurance of pacific intentions from William II., re-enforced by an alleged suggestion from him for the reduction of European armaments, contradicts the fears entertained of him before his accession to the German throne, and augurs well for Europe and the world. War has accomplished its mission, or will some day announce its purpose fulfilled. Disarmament is a step in the right direction; arbitration as the remedy for international differences is another; broad and mature statesmanship, infected with the Christian spirit, is an instrument of conservation ever to be employed in time of difficulty. "Let us have peace."

Civilization in France is moral enough to prohibit the *duello;* yet recently the Prime Minister, M. Floquet, in resentment of an insult offered him in the Chamber of Deputies by General Boulanger, fought a duel with the luckless general, each being wounded but neither killed. The sentiment of the French is against the proceeding. It was a scene, not of or for honor, but of dishonor. The law is honorable; the law-breaker deserves its penalty.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

Growth of Periodical Literature.

Fifty years ago John Foster, whose "massive thought" has secured for his works a place "among the most profound of English classics," treating of the immensity of literature, observed that "men of ordinary literary hardihood look over the dusty and solemn ranks of learned works in a great public library as an invincible *terra incognita;* they gaze on the lettered latitude and altitude as they would on the inaccessible shore of some great island bounded on all sides with a rocky precipice." Since Foster's day the literature of the civilized world has so increased, both in extent and value, that the most enthusiastic students can scarcely avoid sympathy with that feeling of discouragement which breathes in Foster's observation. It is, in truth, impossible in this busy age for the most eager and persistent pursuer after knowledge to do more than to completely master some of its branches, and to gain a general acquaintance with the facts and principles of the still greater remainder. The former he acquires from the learned tomes of the library; the *Reviews* and the *Magazines* offer him facilities unknown to students of previous centuries to attain the latter.

Journalism—including the *Newspaper*, the *Magazine*, and the *Review*—has been justly named by Professor Shaw "that remarkable and distinctive feature of modern literature." Edward Cave, the friend and patron of Johnson, was the father of the *Magazine* in 1737. Griffiths, in 1749, originated the *Monthly Review*, which, says Dr. Angus, was "the earliest periodical devoted to criticism." In politics it was Whiggish, in religion Low Church. To offset its influence the *Critical Review* was started in 1756. The *British Critic* appeared in 1793. These periodicals were all more or less prized by their respective supporters for "their critical judgments and information." But those lesser literary stars were eclipsed in 1802 by that more brilliant luminary, the *Edinburgh Review;* in 1805, by the *Eclectic;* in 1809, by the *Quarterly;* and in 1824, by the *Westminster*. Since this latter date other *Reviews*—literary, scientific, political, and ecclesiastical—have come into existence, both in Europe and America. And to-day there is scarcely any department of thought or any party of magnitude unrepresented by a *Magazine* or a *Review*.

To a student of broad views and high aspirations the *Reviews* of the day are, if not absolutely indispensable, yet exceedingly valuable. Their digests and criticisms of important books; their reflections of the current phases of thought; their intelligent and critical records of great passing historical events, of scientific discoveries, of philosophical discussions, of theological disputations, of social and moral reforms, of religious movements, and of the changes of popular opinion on all topics, put him in possession of information not otherwise accessible except at such a cost of time and money as to be practically out of his reach. It is no exaggeration to say that one who regularly and carefully reads the leading *Reviews*

of Europe and America listens to the heart-beats and counts the pulsations of civilized humanity. His sympathies are quickened, and he walks toward the future, not as a loitering straggler in the rear of his age, but as a strong man in the van of the mighty host which is marching toward that day of brightness and beauty which is destined to witness the emancipation of mankind from the tyranny of ignorance and evil.

The influence of *Review* writing may be illustrated by the fact that the *Edinburgh Review* is recognized as having mainly formed and promoted "that public opinion which in England carried the abolition of slavery, the repeal of the test acts, the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, the reform of parliamentary representation and of the municipal institutions of the country." It is not given to every *Review* to achieve so much as this, but every one of the many now published is a power for good or evil. Our digest of the contents of some of them is intended to give the reader an idea of the trend of their thought and the quality of their influence upon their respective circles of readers.

The *London Quarterly Review* for July has for its topics: 1. "Dr. Martineau's Study of Religion;" 2. "The Prussian Old and the German New Court Régime;" 3. "Richard Wagner and the Musical Drama;" 4. "The Protestant Methodist Controversy of 1827;" 5. "Gordon and Garibaldi;" 6. "St. Jerome and His Times;" 7. "Professor Sayce on the Babylonian Religion;" 8. "The Sting of Darwinism;" 9. "The Theology of 'Robert Elsmere.'"

Of these papers we note only the one on Professor Sayce's *Lectures on the Babylonian Religion*, which gives Professor Sayce the credit of writing "the fullest and clearest exposition yet attempted of the religion of ancient Babylonia and Assyria." The materials of his exposition were found in the "clay literature," that is, in the inscriptions on bricks collected by explorers from the ruins of Babylon, Nineveh, etc. Those bricks were the substitutes for manuscripts and books which filled the royal public libraries that once existed in the cities of Assyria and Babylonia. To the deciphering of a great number of those bricks now collected in the British Museum Professor Sayre has devoted much time, toil, and patient study. His principal aim in his lectures is to unravel the history of those ancient nations. In subordination to this purpose he "brings out many interesting points of contact between the Babylonians and the Jews," especially those which existed in the age and country of Abraham, "Ur of the Chaldees" being one of the oldest seats of the Babylonian religion. In doing this he thinks he finds in the Assyrian language the original of such names as Moses, Saul, David, and Solomon, in the names of the Babylonian deities. He also traces certain correspondences between the priesthood, temples, sacrifices, rituals, and festivals of the Jews and Babylonians, the most important of which is, that in both "every seventh day is marked as a day of rest."

Professor Sayce is very positive that, notwithstanding these resemblances, there is strong evidence that the Babylonians were antagonistic

to the pronounced Monotheism of Abraham and his descendants. The deities of the former were local, the Jehovah of the latter universal; a difference of which the reviewer justly observes that "if there were no other difference, this one puts an immeasurable gulf between Babylonia and Israel." But when Professor Sayce, having found an analogue to the Jehovah of Israel in Assur, the national God of Assyria, observes that "we can trace in him (Assur) all the lineaments upon which, under other conditions, there might have been built up as pure a faith as that of the God of Israel," our reviewer warmly objects. Apparently he thinks that on this admission some might claim that the faith of Israel, which assuredly had its origin in a monotheistic root, was a development and not a ~~revelation~~. But if it had pleased God to raise up an Assyrian Abraham why might not their faith in a universal God thus illuminated by revelation have become the analogue to Judaism? We do not, therefore, feel the force of this reviewer's objection to the professor's opinion concerning Assur. Moreover, the latter is undesignedly sustained by the learned Ebrard, who agrees with Duncker in his conclusion that even "the Babylonians in the earliest times worshiped one God—El, Ilu. Lenormant holds the same opinion. But at a very early period they fell into polytheistic heathenism," and then "the primitive appellation of God, Ilu (in Akkadian Dingira), became a proper name of an individual deity." Again Ebrard, after giving full weight to all that is known of the "clay literature," concludes that there has been a universal degeneration of all the cultured races of antiquity from a primitive monotheism into various forms of heathenism.

But Ebrard's well-grounded opinions do not conflict with our reviewer when he denies the professor's assumption that the monotheism of Israel is attributable "to difference of race," and that our increasing knowledge of Akkadian polytheism may serve as a beacon guiding to a purer faith. As a matter of fact, no evolution from polytheism into the worship of the God of the Bible has ever been known. Neither is it to be hoped for. Nothing but the concept of God as revealed first to the patriarchs and finally in the incarnate Christ ever has or ever can lift men out of the great abyss of polytheistic worship into that pure spiritual worship which Christ came into the world to teach.

The *Nineteenth Century* for June has: 1. "The Question of Imperial Safety;" 2. "The Coming Reign of Plenty;" 3. "Pasteur;" 4. "Archbishop Trench's Poems;" 5. "American Statesmen;" 6. "Free Trade;" 7. "The Scientific Frontier an Accomplished Fact;" 8. "A Woman's College in the United States;" 9. "Local Government and County Councils in France." The first of the above named articles is a symposium by three writers. The "war scare" which has lately stirred the fears of many thoughtful Englishmen is doubtless the inspiration of these calm and well-considered papers. After comparing the forces which may possibly be arrayed by the great Powers against their country with her present military and naval resources, these writers conclude that England

is not prepared to successfully cope with them. She needs more ships, more cannon, and more soldiers. The paper on "The Coming Reign of Plenty," by Prince Kropotkin, discusses with ability the problems involved in the agricultural and manufacturing industries of Europe and America. He shows that no one nation can long subsist by becoming the manufacturer for others, because the general diffusion of knowledge is such that every nation is rapidly acquiring skill to produce its own manufactures. He then contends, that under existing conditions no nation can prosper by raising food for exportation, but that permanent prosperity can only be secured by combining agricultural with manufacturing pursuits. Another point maintained is, that by such skillful application of labor to tillage as now prevails in Belgium, even so small a country as Great Britain can furnish abundant food not only for its present population, but also for twice as many. The conclusion of this novel and suggestive paper is, that every nation should blend manufacturing with agricultural industry. The article on Pasteur is an admirable digest of that great man's discovery of the *theory* of vaccination, and of its application to hydrophobia and other diseases, both of men and animals. It treats also of his method of breeding microbes, of his modes of inoculation, and of the results attained. Of 3,852 cases of persons treated for mad dog and wolf bites only fifty-four, or 1.40 per cent., died. Pasteur's theory seems to be generally accepted in Europe, and he has received honors from all its Powers, including England, which until lately has hesitated to give it approval. In "Archbishop Trench's Poems" we have a judicious and appreciative review of a poet with whom we opine American readers are too little acquainted. The reviewer, Aubrey DeVere, finds the late archbishop's poems characterized by religious feeling of an order special to himself. In them emotion is blended with thought. They display more imagination than fancy. They are human-hearted, treating largely of the realities of life. Hence, while they inspire hope and beget cheerfulness, because they express the brightness of the poet's faith in the goodness of God, there is yet in them a vein of sadness which often tempers their gladsomeness, and makes it like "the sunbeam of the church-yard and the bird song echoed from the ruin." The archbishop was a man of "rare versatility," consequently his themes are many and various. His verse lacks the graceful finish of Tennyson, but its metrical qualities are high, and one cannot dissent from the reviewer's opinion, "that among contemporary Anglican poets he will probably one day be regarded by many as the best."

The *Westminster Review* for June contains: 1. "The Claims of the Parish." 2. "Montaigne;" 3. "The Papal Rescript;" 4. "Some Aspects of the London School Board;" 5. "The Irish in America;" 6. "The Yellow River;" 7. "France and Boulangerism;" 8. "Ireland;" 9. "Contemporary Literature." This number of the *Westminster* gives large space to the Irish question. In the "Papal Rescript" it treats chiefly of the probable effect of recent Papal interposition in Irish political affairs.

After describing the faith of the Irish in Romish dogmas as being mediæval in its character, it shows that the "National School" has already made them a reading people, and is fast making them a thinking people. The influence of their priests over them is immense, and these have been in full sympathy with the party of Home Rule. If, therefore, the priests obey the Pope's rescript, and dissociate themselves from the "plan of campaign" adopted by the League, it is probable, if not certain, that the people will adhere to their political leaders, and that "divorce must follow between the priests and people in Ireland." Hence, the author of this paper infers that the Pope runs the imminent risk of losing the Irish from his fold, and that the latter will become more reckless and desperate than ever. The article on "The Irish in America," while not denying either the proclivity of Irishmen to political corruption, or the evil influence of their political clannishness in American politics, is yet quite apologetic in its tone. It gives them fully as much, perhaps more, credit for ability than facts warrant. Their recent endeavors to force the question of Home Rule into American politics, with their determination to remain more Irish than American in their sympathies, and their too evident desire to involve our country in trouble with England, this writer says, is reviving the spirit which some thirty years ago gave existence to Know-Nothingism." He also makes a strong point when he shows that the inattention of the best class of native Americans to their political duties, the too early admission of immigrants to citizenship, and the inefficiency of our election laws, have contributed much to giving the Irish that control in our political life which has made our prevailing demagogism possible. Finally, he thinks that the Irish in America are likely to fulfill the prediction of Grattan when he said to the rulers of England: "Those whom you trample on in Ireland will sting you in America." In the paper entitled "Ireland," an Irish Liberal enters a strong protest against Home Rule. After strongly approving the present policy of the British Government, which punishes both the violators of the law and their abettors, he illustrates with some telling facts the ferocity with which the leaders of the League maltreat those who refuse to obey their mandates. He next objects to both Home Rule and Home Rulers, on the ground that in those parts of Ireland which are contented under British rule the people are prosperous, while in the anti-Protestant districts, which mainly support the League, the people are poor and business is in a ruinous condition. He compares Belfast, which stands as a port next in importance to Liverpool, and North-east Ulster, Derry, Coleraine, etc., with Dublin, Cork, Limerick, etc. All are alike under British rule. The former places prosper, the latter do not. He thence infers that whatever else may cause this difference it cannot be that rule. But those who demand Home Rule are the parties whose influence is paramount in the declining cities and provinces. Give them control of the government and their administration would inevitably reduce Belfast and North-east Ulster, etc., to the level of Dublin, Cork, etc. Moreover, the Leaguers are Papists. Their triumph would lay Ireland, bound hand and foot, at the feet of a Church

which never has conceded religious liberty where it had power to suppress it. Hence Home Rule would be followed by attempts to suppress Protestantism, and a consequent religious war. Thus reasons the Hon. J. W. Russell, M.P., whose opinions are his own, and not those of the managers of the *Westminster*.

The *Unitarian Review* for June maintains its well-earned reputation for æsthetic brilliancy which one may enjoy while dissenting from its unorthodox theology. It opens with an appreciative but discriminative critique by Charles C. Everett, on "Martineau's Study of Religion," which it justly commends as a "contribution" to the thought of the age, that properly "studied will be found wonderfuly helpful and quickening." Its second paper, by N. P. Gilman, is a "Brief Review of Cox's Life of John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal." As one might expect, Mr. Gilman commends, though with some qualifications, the radical rationalism which characterized the writings of the doughty bishop. The reviewer, with more audacity than wisdom, says "the Eternal Spirit bade him (Colenso) smite the idol of biblical infallibility, the prolific source of many a vice and many a crime against humanity." In this remark Mr. Gilman seems to confound the pseudo claim of Rome to be the infallible interpreter of the divine word with that real infallibility which is inseparable from a revelation, because a fallible revelation is unthinkable. With Mr. Gilman's admiration of Colenso's indomitable courage and of his active philanthropy one can have full sympathy while regretting the reckless rationalism by which he undermined the faith of many. We regret to find in this number an unoriginal paper by Charles A. Allen called "The Corner-stone of Christianity," which is a feeble attempt to take from Christianity the great fact of the Resurrection on which it reposes. Its writer asserts that the crucified body of our Lord was not restored to physical life, and not subsequently taken into heaven, but only that his words became a dominant power in the world! After the discouragement caused by his death the memory of his gracious words and holy deeds begat new courage and a lofty enthusiasm in his disciples, which spread rapidly. When Saul fell under its influence he did not really see Jesus with his bodily eyes, but only felt the power of his words in his heart. This feeling was the "witness of the Spirit" to him that the words of Jesus were true. From this inward experience he reasoned *to* the theory that Christ's body had arisen, because through belief in his sayings a new spiritual life had been born in those who received his words. Reasoning (?) thus, Mr. Allen concludes: "The Cornerstone of Christianity, then, is not the resurrection of Jesus in Judea, but the rising of his spirit here and now in the new life of love and trust which is truly God with us."

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July contains: 1. "The Call of the Prison to Ministers;" 2. "A Short History of the Missionary Society at Hermannsburg, North Germany;" 3. "Some Illustrations of Mr. Froude's Historical Methods;" 4. "A Newly Discovered Key to Biblical Chronology;"

5. "The Economy of Pain;" 6. "The Divine Immanency;" 7. "Two Histories of Christian Doctrine;" 8. "Critical Notes;" 9. "The Debt of the Church to Asa Gray;" 10. "German Periodical Literature."

Rev. W. J. Batt, the writer of the deeply interesting paper on "The Call of the Prison to Ministers," is "Moral Instructor in the Massachusetts Reformatory at Concord." The purpose of his article is to direct the attention of candidates for the ministry to prison chaplaincies as important, if not indeed specially desirable, fields of usefulness. He certainly makes out a very strong case. His facts appeal forcibly to one's Christian sympathies with the guilty unfortunates immured within prison walls. He is evidently an optimist on the question of their possible reformation. His article merits the attention of both philanthropists and clergymen. Rev. Alfred H. Hall, in "Some Illustrations of Mr. Froude's Historical Methods," uses the critic's scalpel with relentless but deserved severity. Taking that writer's own principles respecting the method of writing history, he applies them most pitilessly to several of his works. Mr. Froude in his essay on "The Lives of the Saints," said: "We cannot relate facts as they are. They must first pass through ourselves. . . . The great outlines alone lie around us. The details we each fill up according to the turn of our sympathies, the extent of our knowledge, or our general theory of things." Any one can readily perceive that with this radically false principle to guide him the historian can give almost any shape he pleases to the facts he proposes to record, because if he dislikes their aspect he can bend them into conformity with his "general theory of things." Taking several of Mr. Froude's works, notably his *Oceana*, his *History of England*, and his *Essay on Criticism and the Gospel History*, Mr. Hall shows that Froude, working on this rule, has sacrificed historic truth on the shrine of his sympathies, and has suffered his feelings to mislead his judgment. This Mr. Hall shows to be the key to his false portraiture of the character of King Henry VIII., to his sentimental comparison of Cæsar with the Christ, and to his unjustifiable eulogy of Sir George Grey in his *Oceana*. Having thus hoisted Mr. Froude on his own petard, Mr. Hall severely but justly concludes that in Froude "historic truth is sacrificed to literary style, judgment swayed by feeling, and candor obscured by prejudice." In the "Economy of Pain" Rev. Dr. Heyman, after a very able discussion of that perplexing problem, reaches the conclusion that "particular pains stimulate the moral sense of the individual," and that "the race of man stands in need of the perpetual witness of pain as a whole, stimulating by its presence the moral sense of humanity, and attesting higher aims of being than mere sensuous enjoyment." But after reading this most excellent paper one still feels than no man has yet found a line of sufficient length to sound the lowest depths of the mystery of pain. "The Divine Immanency," a continued article, by Dr. Douglas, shows the hand of a master. With rare force of expression it brings out the relation of the doctrine of God's immanency to the theories of materialistic philosophers. The whole solution of the subject, as he deems, lies in the doctrine of the Absolute Spirit, rather than substance,

being the ultimate principle—"the principium—of the universe." . . . Modern science has recognized force as the substratum of matter, that force is immanent, and that mind is the source of force. Dr. Douglas therefore insists that theology should recognize natural law as divine action, as God in nature.

The New Princeton Review for July is enriched with several articles of more than ordinary excellence. Among these is Edmund Gosse's discriminative paper on "Eighteenth Century Literature." After claiming that only poetry and prose writing which is more or less adorned with the graces of poetic art, that is, writing classed "as belles-lettres in its widest sense," should be considered as literature, Mr. Gosse gives a bird's-eye view of writers of the seventeenth century. This is followed by a fuller treatment of the authors of the eighteenth century literature, with a critical estimate of its principal writers, the sources of their inspiration, and their influence on the literature of France and Germany. He mentions Franklin as the only American writer who can be "named with the recognized masters of eighteenth century English;" and he notes as a curious fact that in 1780 "neither Washington Irving nor Bryant—neither the father of American prose nor the father of American poetry—was yet born." One may not accept all Mr. Gosse's critiques of the writers he names, the relative positions he assigns them, or his estimates of their respective influence on literature. Perhaps some will not comprehend the writer's reasons for omitting to notice such names as Bolingbroke, Horace Walpole, Cowper, Mackenzie, etc. Nevertheless, all lovers of literature will be interested in his charming and suggestive article. "Egyptian Souls and their Worlds," by M. G. Maspero, the French Egyptologist, contains the result of original investigations of the opinions of the ancient Egyptians respecting the destiny of human souls. He makes it clear that they believed in a future life, but their theories concerning the nature of that life were various and contradictory. Most of them believed that "their souls went to their respective local gods after death." In a very lucid paper entitled "A Political Frankenstein," Eugene Schuyler gives an intelligent exposition of the part played by Russian agents in Bulgaria during the troubles which led to the abdication of Prince Alexander. His view of the future of Bulgaria is, that if the Bulgarians maintain their present judicious attitude they will be so assisted by public opinion in Europe and by the determined attitude of Austria-Hungary as to retain their autonomy, and peacefully develop their nationality into strength and permanency. Mr. Schuyler's knowledge of European affairs is such as to command respect for his opinions. In the "American Party Convention," Mr. Alexander Johnston contends that "a machine of some sort is inseparable from democratic government." If by "a machine" he means party organization, he is doubtless correct. The problem is how to create organizations that shall be really self-governed, and not controlled by professional politicians, to whom their party is a mint, which corruptly coins the gold on which they live. From such machines true patriots may rightly pray, "Good Lord, deliver

us!" Professor Ormond, in "Humanistic Religion," shows that the consummate flower of Christianity, and therefore of our civilization, is a morality fused with social devotion which recognizes the divine Fatherhood as the source of the feeling of human brotherhood. But modern altruism, the worship of humanity, by rejecting the supernatural, casts off the only motivity that can raise social devotion to the pitch requisite to the regeneration of society. The Professor pertinently asks, "What power has an ethic that does not anchor to the throne of the Almighty, that does not lay a living faith in a divine Father as the basis of human brotherhood, to fuse the inert masses of humanity with social devotion?" Human experience replies emphatically, "None whatever."

The *Presbyterian Review* for July opens with a paper on "Christian Unity and the Historic Episcopate," by Professor Ransom B. Welch, which is irenic in spirit though strong in demonstration that the so-called Historic Episcopate was not the product of the Church in apostolic times, but of the Church of the third century. This point is strongly supported with extracts from Episcopalian writers of the Reformation period and of the present day. But the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in their declaration expressive of their desire for Christian unity, dogmatically affirm the High-church theory of the episcopate and priesthood as inseparable from the Protestant Episcopal Church. Professor Welch very properly claims that there is no way out of denominationalism into Christian unity unless the Protestant Episcopal Church will concede, with Dean Stanley, that, "according to the strict rules of the Church, derived from early times, there are but two orders—presbyters and deacons." If this is refused, he pertinently says, the affiliations of that Church as Protestant or non-Protestant for some time to come depend upon this issue. As one of her own clergy has said, "They [the bishops] cannot shut their eyes to the fact that the great mass of American Christianity is outside this Church, and that it *is* Christianity. The opportunity of our Church, such a one as comes once in a century, is before us. We may seize it or we may lose it." One may wish that it may be seized, but such is the stubbornness of the High-church temper one cannot help fearing that it will not be. "Primitive Justice," by Professor A. G. Hopkins, traces the law of blood revenge from its operation among uncivilized peoples, as personal retaliation for wrong, to its incorporation into statutes administered by the State in civilized communities. In doing this he brings out the principle of justice as it is found incorporated in the laws of nations from the earliest times to the present age. He considers national wars to be an illustration, on a large scale, of the law of retaliation which, in the infancy of the race, led the individual to be his own avenger. He claims that since the State, influenced by Christianity, has become the avenger of individual wrong, it may be hoped that sooner or later the same principle will lead the single State to seek redress by appealing to a parliament of nations, which, he says, is not merely a poetic fancy. Once created it may replace war with arbitration. "Chris-

tianity and Culture," by Rev. Wm. T. Herridge, is a very thoughtful paper. In defining culture, he claims that it means more than social refinement of speech and manners, more than æstheticism, more than the education of the scientific faculty, more than the love of letters. It signifies the development of every thing in man that is capable of growth, and especially of the moral domain of his nature. It must aim to make him all that spiritual Christianity requires him to be. What culture is without Christianity he finds in the history of ancient Greece, and in the confessions of intellectual men of modern times who reject the doctrine of Christ. That Christianity is favorable to culture he proves by what it has done for modern science, literature, and art; and he justly claims that culture is complete only when it prepares men for entrance into the kingdom of heaven. "Can the Being of God be Demonstrated?" is answered by Dr. Erskine N. White, in the affirmative. Metaphysicians to the contrary, he offers arguments which, to his mind, "tend to lift the conclusion from one of cumulative proof to the impregnable position of a demonstration." His arguments are strong and strongly put. Yet the keen-eyed metaphysical theist will scarcely accept them as conclusive, albeit he will still cling to his undoubting belief in the "one only true and ever-living God."

The Andover Review for July has among its seven contributions one by Professor H. W. Gardiner, which treats of "Schopenhauer as Critic of Religion." Of this man's philosophy the Professor says: "No system of modern times assumes a more definite or hostile attitude toward religion than this brilliantly expounded metaphysics, half pantheistic, half atheistic, of the great German pessimist." After a brief analysis of his philosophy, he dissects his character and finds the sources of his pessimism not exclusively in his intellectual qualities, but largely in his naturally morbid temper irritated by his home environments, by the rigid but hollow religious formalism with which he was associated during his school life in England, and by "the moral self-contradiction which he realized in his own spirit." His great intellect perceived the evils of human existence as few minds can see them. His will rebelled against them. But how to escape them he saw not, because his philosophy taught him to ignore religion. Hence his mind was a field of terrible conflict, and hence originated much of the wretched pessimism of his teaching. In another paper Dr. C. Van Norden writes of the "Human Limitations of the Christ, as Described or Suggested in the Gospels." These limitations are exhaustively brought out, and they leave no ground for questioning the reality and completeness of our Lord's human nature. But Dr. Van Norden's treatment of the divine side of Christ's nature is not so satisfactory. But for the writer's assertion of his loyalty to the Nicene Creed one might question his belief that Christ possesses "two whole and perfect natures, the Godhead and the manhood."

BOOK CRITIQUES.

NEW BOOKS.

"Of making many books there is no end," wrote the author of the Ecclesiastes. We may add that there ought to be no end of making books any more than there ought to be an end of inventions, discoveries, researches, studies, activities of all kinds, enterprises of all possibilities. Literature is largely the result of the spirit of the age. As effect, it must record the age; as cause, it must stimulate it. Its relation to the age enforces its expression in the book, the pamphlet, the lecture, the newspaper, the magazine, and review. While in the ordinary sense it is a record of man's progress and relations, it is in a distant but not invisible sense a representation of the historic and current immanence of God in human affairs. The book is a necessity, and it is not surprising that at least four books are published every hour of every secular day, making 30,000 every year. This is a prophecy of many books in the future.

The old statement that new thought is impossible, or that so-called original thought has its antecedent in the literature of another age, however remote, and that individual thinking is but a reproduction of the mental expression of other minds, is preposterously fallacious, injuriously paralyzing, and absolutely untrue. It is fallacious because it fails to distinguish between the new and the old in their relations and interdependency. The newest truth is not in isolation. A new star is bound by invisible threads to other worlds. Every truth is in harmonious correlation with all truth. The discovery of a fact, a principle, a law, implies the rediscovery of some familiar principles or facts, inasmuch as unity is dominant in the universe of matter and being. This double or brotherly relation of truths is forgotten in the charge that the new is impossible. It is paralyzing because a notification that any work the scholar may do will be but a repetition of another's achievement will disturb his ardor and negative his purpose. It implies, also, that there is a limit to knowledge, which we question, and that man has reached the limit, which certainly is not true. The thinker is yet in the juvenile period of thought; he must go forward until he attains the virility of complete manliness in his literary affiliations. He is in the valley of darkness; he must ascend the mountains around him and plant his flagstaff on the highest peak of observation and inquiry. Every thing is new before him. Henceforth his achievements must exhibit largely a traceable difference with those of the past. Some things, it is true, have been established, as certain laws of nature, the meters of poetry, the octaves of music, the teachings of the Scriptures; but these are understood only in their alphabetical relations, and must serve as foundations for higher research, more patient exertion, and more transparent and definitely recognized results. In a sense, the modern scientific dogma of evolution is new, Democritus having entertained no such conception and made no such use of it as Spencer. Geology is becoming *newer* every year. Stanley is certainly a new

discoverer. The telephone is without an antecedent. Electrotyping is a modernism. In all departments of study, industry, art, philosophy, theology, and history the new is constantly appearing and establishing itself on a basis that will stand. Old theories, old geographies, old histories, old industries, are departing, because thought is new and the thinker is asserting himself. Authors are numerous, subjects are many, books crowd our shelves, our attics, our doorways, our streets; they are every-where, as they ought to be. Histories, biographies, theologies, philosophies, fictions, and poetries enrich our tables and minister to the craving of the intellect and the sober cry of the soul.

In this number of the *Review* special attention is called to the examination of the religious and theological literature of the day, as expressing the deep interest on the part of thinkers in that phase of intellectual inquiry. Theology is the undercurrent of the profoundest thinking of to-day. The great questions are theological, for these once settled ultimate all others. The world is anxious to know the truth or error of Christianity as the religion of civilization; for once accepted as true, without mental resistance or modification, it will revolutionize every temporal condition and transfer an upper-world glory into the habitations of men.

As all persons are not theological in their tastes, books of another character are noticed, and commended so far as their merits seem to warrant. It is intended to make this department thorough in its critical work, and reliable in its suggestions and conclusions—such, indeed, as it has usually been; but, owing to the greater multitude of books in this day, the most careful discrimination as to their worth is an urgent necessity, and to this feature we shall have constant reference in this department.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Christian Archæology. By CHARLES W. BENNETT, D.D., Professor of Historical Theology in Garrett Biblical Institute. With an Introductory Notice by Dr. FERDINAND PIPER, Professor of Church History and Christian Archæology in the University of Berlin. 8vo, pp. 558. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $3 50.

Archæology may be styled one of the latest sciences. As it involves the general study of antiquities, or the monumental evidence of historic movements and conditions, it was necessarily preceded by the larger investigations in the field of nature; that is, the sciences of astronomy, chemistry, natural philosophy, biology, geology, geography, and meteorology, embracing the facts, forms, laws, and potencies of matter, were considered long before the reliquary was opened, or archæological testimony was valued at a premium in the settlement of disputes over ancient questions and theories. Not that this kind of evidence was totally ignored, but in the haste to interpret nature it was not fully estimated or appropriately applied to those matters to which it was relevant. The museum is not a modern institution. Nearly all nations have practiced the habit of pre-

serving in one form or another the memorials of their generations, the study of which would open veins of history not yet traced or not supposed to have any bearing on subjects at issue in the theological mind. In these days, however, when some sciences are well organized and are employed in researching, other sciences, the outgrowths of the accumulation of centuries, also appear, and report their relation to history, civilization, and religion. Archæology steps to the front with the endowments of a science, affirming facts, presenting proofs, arbitrating issues, and deciding questions impossible of settlement without it.

The general reader will perhaps value the whole field of archæology, because it is related to classical history, Jewish antiquity, and Christian institutions and life. The subject, indeed, is susceptible of a three-fold division, to wit: Classical Archæology, Jewish Archæology, and Christian Archæology, a division now generally recognized by those who prefer classification to a mixed whole.

Christian archæology, as a distinct branch of the science and limited to the umpiring of New Testament histories and problems, was initiated in the sixteenth century by the Magdeburg centuriators, who made good use of it in the revolt of the reformers against the mediæval Church; but it had intermittent development as the centuries passed until within the last forty years it has assumed the proportions of a definite department in theologic and historic inquiries. The newness of the department may be inferred from the fact that Dr. Bennett's volume is the first of the kind ever issued from the American press, the investigations in the field having been hitherto made by the *savants* of the Old World. We have then for examination a work entirely new, certainly a credit to American scholarship, and reflecting great honor on the religious denomination that names the author and approves his labors and researches.

In a very large sense archæology may include all kinds of evidence that the past furnishes for the support and enlightenment of any subject; but a dividing line is imperative if it maintains its profession as a science. It cannot investigate every thing and admit all kinds of testimony. With a restrictive range it may be the more minutely surveyed, and its testimony will be the more valuable. Hence, it is customary to limit archæology to documentary and monumental evidence; but, as this is of a double character, it is almost necessary to exclude the documentary if we would have a science in isolated completeness and characterized by unity of evidence and fact. Keeping these limitations in view, the author's book can better be understood, and its rank as a scientific as well as a literary and theological work be the more readily determined.

No common qualifications were required to produce this volume, or any volume of like character, pretending to original research in archæological discovery and interpretation. An author in this field must exhibit the results of autoptic study, for second-hand statements or observations would expose him to the charge of incompetency and unreliability. He must visit the countries of antiquity, explore special localities, photograph scenes and objects, take measurements, and accurately report them

to his readers. He must be a student of antiquities in general, and familiar with the history related to the several branches; and if a Christian archæologist, bent on authorship, he must be a discriminating observer, well acquainted with ecclesiastical history, and enthusiastic in pursuit and brave and dashing in inquiry. His preparation will not be complete without a knowledge of numismatics, glyptics, sphragistics, epigraphy, and iconography, besides an acquaintance with painting, sculpture, monuments, and the Oriental languages, all of which come not by chance, but by patient study and the experience of years of thoughtful exploration and comparison of observations. With this general equipment, and a disposition to search the records in stone, the author's labor will be in vain unless he is an expert in interpretation, which is the end of all investigation. He must be more than a fact-hunter and a fact-finder: he must be able to relate facts to one another and combine them into systems; reason from fragments to completed forms, and interpret the testimony fairly and forcibly in support of the truth involved. This will tax the archæologist not a little. For instance, the evidential value of mosaics will depend upon the caution and judgment of the explorer. Dr. Bennett (p. 116) says: "Such is the nature of the materials, the permanence of the colors, and the ease with which insertions can be made that experts may be deceived." Again, the chronology of frescoes, epitaphs, basilicas, and monuments may not be clear even to a wise man, and the inferences may be misleading. If we would rely upon an archæologist, he must be competent in every particular, vindicating his work by its results, and the evident carefulness that marks his observations and buttresses his inferences. Fortunately, this author, from wide observations in the archæological field, an intimate acquaintance with all the departments belonging to the science, and a long and skillful experience in interpretation, fulfills every qualification needed for authorship, and his work may be commended as trustworthy and sufficient for its purpose.

Of the book itself, its plan and arrangement, the subjects of its chapters and their contents, the size and mechanical appearance, we can only write in a general way. It is a member of the "Library of Biblical and Theological Literature," edited by Dr. Crooks and Bishop Hurst, forming a neat companion with those already issued. As the publishers excel in this kind of book-work, this goes forth as a credit to the house. The book executes its plan, being well illustrated by engravings, plates, and maps, besides containing an "Addenda" that includes a "Glossary," translation of inscriptions, and the literature of Christian archæology, all valuable and relevant.

Though opinion is divided among archæologists as to the chronological limits of the subject, the author adopts the more authoritative view of commencing with the first century and ending the archæological examination "with the second Trullan Council of Constantinople, A. D. 692," though in some instances he finds it serviceable to travel into the eighth century for his facts. Thus restricted, he considers the great subject under the four aspects of Christian art, to which more than one half of

the volume is devoted, the constitution and government of the early Christian Church, sacraments and worship, and the archæology of the Christian life. In treating of Christian art he very properly discusses the relation of religion to art; first the Jewish law and custom, then the Christian teaching and practice, which on the whole was favorable, as seen in the symbols, paintings, sculpture, and epigraphy, but the admixture of pagan elements was a degradation of the Christian idea, all of which is clearly set forth and established.

Until the author takes up poetry and music he is strictly and scientifically archæological, but he is more literary than monumental in discussing these topics as a part of the "art" of the early centuries. The documentary evidence of Syrian, Greek, and Latin hymnology is satisfactory, but is it sufficiently archæological? The exceptional monumental inscriptions of Damasus (p. 288) do not weaken our statement. Few ancient hymns (p. 276) have come down to us, the monumental evidence of their existence having also disappeared. As to Christian music no evidence of its origin is presented, and the testimony relating to it is documentary rather than monumental. This deviation from the strict standard is perhaps because the standard is ours and not the author's.

Books II. and III. under a strict construction, belong to Church history, though the "monumental" character of the "books" occasionally appears, and the "monumental" intention of the author may have always been present in their preparation. The definition of the New Testament idea of the Church; the description of the apostolic Church, with its fine distinctions of officers, including a clear-cut discrimination between πρεσβύτεροι and ἐπίσκοποι; the setting forth of the post-apostolic constitution, including a discussion of the Ignatian episcopacy, the theory of Irenæus, and the influence of Cyprian; the rehearsal of synods and councils, with the systems of discipline for offenses that were established, constitute available historical reading necessary to fill up the outline in the author's plan; but little of it is strictly archæological, except in the broad and unscientific sense that archæology includes all ancient history. The modern cast of these pages is reflected in the use made of "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" and the development of the episcopal idea.

The subject of worship and the sacraments is in an historical frame, occasionally relieved of a necessary documentary uniformity by a fresco or an engraving of furniture; but the reader is distressed over the absence of monumental teaching on such subjects as pædobaptism, the Lord's Supper, and Christian worship.

In conceding that the baptism of John's disciples and of the Jewish proselytes (p. 396) was ordinarily by dipping or immersion he is at variance with a strict exegesis of the Old Testament, which does not allow immersion to have been a religious baptism at all, and he is compelled to acknowledge (pp. 406, 407) "that from the second to the ninth century there is found scarcely one pictorial representation of baptism by immersion." The archæology, such as it is, is against his position.

In Book IV. the author recovers his grasp on archæology proper, or dis-

covers new material, discussing the Christian life in its varied branches, and furnishing passports to faith in the conditions of slavery, labor, civil and military life of the times by testimonials drawn from monuments as well as documents. Tombs and catacombs are abundant enough to illustrate not only the burial customs of the early centuries, but the family relation, and the difference between the Christian faith and paganism.

As archæology is playing no unimportant part in the theological conflicts of the present day, this volume, written in a dignified style, and embracing probably all that can be presented from the single stand-point, is worthy of a place in the library of the ecclesiastic, the layman, and the student, in this and other countries. The pen may answer the pen, but the testimony of a tomb, a coin, a seal, a bust, a mosaic, a painting, a sculpture, cancels the affidavit of the unbeliever. The tread of facts from caverns, excavated cities, and from the dust of three continents is loud enough to be heard by an American professor, who in turn sends out the echo into all the world, and really turns it upside down as to error, and right side up in its faith and knowledge of the truth.

The Social Influence of Christianity, with Special Reference to Contemporary Problems. By DAVID J. HILL, LL.D., President of Bucknell University. The Newton Lectures for 1887. Pp. 231. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. Cloth, gilt, $1 25.

A book that grasps the direct and indirect influences of Christianity, considering less its religious power than the social revolutions it instigates, is opportune and valuable. The religion of the Bible is an operating factor in the world's activities, and if it does not regenerate the individual it does inject a transforming influence, sometimes imperceptibly, but in such a case all the more certain of effecting a result, into the enterprises, legislations, occupations, and social organizations of men. Christianity is both a regenerator as applied to the individual, and a reformer as applied to society. President Hill, without forgetting its higher function, has sought in his book clearly and vigorously to represent the reformative and leavening power of the Christian religion in society. For this task he has eminent qualifications, having spent several months in central and southern Europe studying the subject, and having been a teacher of sociology—the department that is in review in this book—for ten years. The volume, as given to the public, is made up of eight lectures delivered before the Newton Theological Institution in May, 1887, and is published at the request of the president, faculty, and students, with such enlargements or modifications as he judged important to make.

Logically, he first considers the underlying problem of the nature of human society, and then closely and systematically points out the effect of Christianity upon it in all its varied conditions, relations, responsibilities, and activities. Two views of the source of society have prevailed since the days of Plato and Aristotle; views not exactly antagonistic, and yet opposite in character, and which have determined the ethical theories of the different schools of philosophy and theology, showing the impor-

tance of a right beginning in all thinking as well as in all doing. The pagan idea was naturalistic, grounding the social organization in nature's laws or man's environment, in an outward impulse or force that ordained gregarious habits, customs, societies, and laws in animals, birds, fishes, and men. None have more beautifully set forth this paganism than Plato and Aristotle, the former in particular, with all his idealism gravitating to an obvious realism in his conception of society. In modern times Montesquieu, Condorcet, Immanuel Kant (who eulogized absolute freedom as the masterpiece of his metaphysics), Quetelet, the Belgian mathematician, Buckle, and Herbert Spencer have adopted the pagan idea, amplifying, but neither beautifying nor strengthening it. Spencer holds that "sociology is simply an extension of biology;" Buckle, that "the moral actions of men are the product, not of their volition, but of their antecedents;" and Kant, that "human actions are determined in great part by general laws of nature." The bearing of the naturalistic theory on ethics is self-evident.

On the other hand, the idealistic theory, or the recognition of man's individuality, his free will, his personal accountability, and his higher relationship to God, was first broached by the ancient Hebrews, expanded and authenticated by the divine Master, and permeates all modern theology, except those heterodox forms that would gladly find some scientific support for the theory that man is a machine, the moral effect of which is seen at a glance. Quite briefly, Dr. Hill enumerates these conflicting theories with trenchant comments, and answers his question, What is human society? as follows: "It is a composite product of (1) natural wants, (2) human wills, and (3) moral ideals." The answer comprises every essential factor, and is the basis of the just regulation of society by human laws, and its impregnation by divine teaching and influence.

His lectures are not tangents, but constitute a circumference around the central idea, every lecture being a display of a special faculty or preparation of the author. His analytic power is transparent in the attempt to characterize the effects of Christianity upon society; its relation to labor and the laborer; to wealth and its uses; to marriage and woman; to children and education; and to methods of punishment. In fact, these are the problems that absorb the thought of the author, and must command the attention of the reader. Recognizing that the severest problem of the day arises from the unequal distribution of wealth and the outspoken dissatisfaction of the laboring classes, he grapples with it in an undisguised manner, suggesting Christian principles as potent remedies for the social distractions and discomforts of the modern situation. The problem is chronic, but the remedy is sure. If wealth were considered but a "means, not an end;" if the socialistic schemes for equalizing wealth would be abandoned as hostile to the purpose of society; and if Christian beneficence and decentralizing agencies would prevail, the solution would at last be realized. He is not less emphatic in the treatment of the correlated subjects of marriage, education, and legislation, the chief facts of the social order; nor less skillful in the discussion

of punishment as a social fraction. While punishment is not ethically based on retribution, it is not so clear that it is not ethically based on utility. The author maintains that it is ethically based on repression, but repression is a phase of utility. If punishment were not in any sense useful, it would not be inflicted. The Christian conception of punishment is opposed to the retributive function, but it is not opposed to those advantages that accrue to the criminal and society. Just here the author is exposed to unnecessary criticism, for he might have joined his chapters on utility and repression in perfect agreement. The book is worth owning and reading for its historic information, its scholarly presentation of issues, its maintenance of the Christian standard of right and wrong in the study of social disturbances and inequalities, its keen insight into social dilemmas, and its profound settlement of them all by a reference to particular truths intended for particular evils from the foundation even to the end of the world.

Systematic Theology. A Complete Body of Wesleyan Arminian Divinity, consisting of Lectures on the Twenty-five Articles of Religion. By the late Rev. THOMAS O. SUMMERS, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Vanderbilt University. The whole Arranged and Revised, with Introduction, Copious Notes, Explanatory and Supplemental, and a Theological Glossary, by the Rev. JOHN J. TIGERT, M.A., S.T.B. In two volumes. Vol. ii. 8vo, 519, 52. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Price, $2 per vol.

Dr. Summers was the theological primate in Southern Methodism. Of its many learned men none was better qualified by education, temper, environment, and the possession of an acute historical and exegetical mind to enter the field of authorship on the subject of this octavo. He was penetrating in insight, broad in comprehension, courageous in resolution, combative in spirit, and independent in judgment and the expression of conclusions. In a qualified sense this work is monumental, and therefore worthy of possession. An analysis of the second volume exhibits the personal predilections of the author quite as clearly as it establishes his theological plans and convictions. His idea of a *system* of theology appears on the title-page. He makes the twenty-five Articles of Religion so many texts for homiletical and confederated discussion of the occult or surface theology in them, a plan that does not commend itself, since it does not embrace all the doctrines at issue, nor does it open the door to suggestive scientific elaboration of the truths in hand. Until studied the book seems to be a commentary on certain beliefs, or a creed, rather than a comprehensive opening and entering of the entire theological realm. Notwithstanding this unimpressive introduction the work grows in interest and establishes itself as an authentic exposition of a phase of theology acceptable to a growing school of thinkers. It is "Wesleyan Arminian," a double notification of a specialty in orthodoxy which the author uncompromisingly maintains to the "finis." As the reader learns from the editor, Dr. Summers had repeatedly delivered the material of these volumes as lectures to his classes in Vanderbilt Univer-

sity, often recasting the pages as new facts came to him or changed conditions in the denominational mind were observed. In its present form the volume is the product of the lecture-room, partaking of the ready, and at times of the colloquial, style of rhetoric and argument, making it easy reading and an elegant entertainment in theological disputation. The typography contributes to a comfortable study of the general subjects, for which the reader will thank the publishers. In contents this volume considers Anthropology, under which appear such subjects as Birth-sin, Free-will, Justification, Good Works, Works of Supererogation, and Sin after Justification; Ecclesiology, with notes on Purgatory, Image-worship, and the Sacraments; and Christian Ethics, in which the relations of the Church and the State, Communism, Almsgiving, and Oaths are sufficiently unfolded. The glossary of Theology and Philosophy is indispensable to the appreciation of ecclesiastical history.

Theologians, of whatever school, are usually combative. The theological spirit awakens antagonistic impulses, arraying one against all those who interpret the Scriptures differently from himself, and sometimes inflaming the defender of his creed to red-hot indignation toward those of opposite or unwilling tendency. Usually a book on theology is a battle-field. Dr. Summers's work is peculiarly belligerent in its defense of Wesleyan Arminianism. He is muscular in stroke and unpitying over the ruin he has wrought upon his adversaries. He does not seem to seek victory for its own sake, but for the sake of truth, which invests his task with an air of sincerity, and justifies the splendor of his enthusiasm in his Goliath-like approaches to error. Armed with historical and theological weapons, he is fearless in attack, rapid in execution, a scorner of opposition, and a shouter in triumph. Quick to discover a weakness in doctrine, he advances without circumlocution, and strikes for the center without skirmishing with the outposts. One of the distinguishing features of the work is its grapple with religious errors, or the attempted overthrow of the traditions, idolatries, and superstitions of the Greek and Latin Churches, and the exposure and attempted confutation of well-intrenched heresies in Calvinistic and High-church bodies. In this specialty the book abounds in antistrophes, ingenious defiances, guttural denunciations, and orthodox affirmations such as express the deepest conviction and an earnest intellectual devotion to the truth.

Admitting the excellences of this work in these particulars, the appearance of a new book on theology raises an anticipation of something new in doctrine, or proof, or presentation, lacking which it can hardly sustain the right to publication. We therefore propose to examine the work from this stand-point. The Church is supposed to be beyond the elementary stages of theological announcement, and is devoutly waiting for enlargement of the truths it has sincerely, but in some instances ignorantly, accepted. Is enlargement—a new horizon, a new perspective—given us in this work? While conceding that the Arminian theologian must still contend with Pelagianism, Augustinianism, and Roman Catholicism as stumbling-blocks to rapid spiritual progress, it is

clear that his whole duty is not performed with an attack on these repellent forms of faith. Methodism has always rejected the semi-Pelagianism of Limborch, the birth-sin conception of Augustin, the Tridentine theory of justification, the old leaven of Novatianism, and the unsupported errors of purgatory, image-worship, the five pseudo-sacraments, baptismal regeneration, and transubstantiation. A theology that wages war with only these errors is at a stand-still, and fails to avow itself as a progressive science, with something more to do than to discharge catapults from old battlements by old soldiers. Science has assailed the Bible, challenged the dogmas of the Church, and shaken the faith of multitudes in traditional truth and the value of ceremonial piety. A theology that rakes with consuming fire the errors of Romanists and Calvinists is philanthropic, but the defense of the citadel from scientific assault and undermining is an imperative obligation upon the advanced theologian. In fairness to truth it must be said that Dr. Summers, brilliant and brave, is successful only in the slaughter of religious errors, but is oblivious to scientific daring and misinterpretation, thus furnishing no new weapons for the conflict with modern or scientific and philosophic unbelief. He says (vol. i, p. 19) that "systematic theology . . . is the scientific form of the truths of revelation;" but he fails both to cast these truths in a scientific form, which in itself would repel scientific attack, and to meet those scientific objections to religion that are more dangerous than the ecclesiastical problem of apostolical succession or the secthood of the Romish Church. The value of this treatise is, not that it is progressive in discussion or presentiment, but emphatic of accepted truth; not that it is new in statement or development, but vigorous within orthodox limitations and hopeful of orthodox assimilations; not that it is thinkably Arminian in form, but that it is logically harmonious with Wesleyan articulated theology.

The Names of God in Holy Scripture. A Revelation of His Nature and Relationships. Notes of a Course of Lectures. By ANDREW JUKES. Pp. 226. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

The author is not justified in confessing the "imperfectness" of his volume. If imperfect, readers will discover it; if otherwise, it is an indirect method of soliciting sympathy which an independent mind will not render, or a way of alleging humility that does not commend itself. Bating this exception, the book will be accepted in the theological realm as an honest and valuable attempt to extract from the scriptural names of Deity their inner beauty and meaning, and in general to establish the intrinsic excellence of the divine word in a manner not usual to commentators or logicians. Upon reading the title one might be impressed that this, as some other publications, is a theological curiosity, a book dwelling upon fanciful and ingenious word strictures, and that the writer himself must be eccentric, and possibly an expert in the subtleties of interpretation. This impression gives way on reading the Preface and the Introduction; and as the seven or more distinct names in Hebrew literature

are analyzed and transformed into the English sense one feels *en rapport* with the author and his subject. His chief guide was Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, which he regarded as superior to others, though the almost exclusive use of one lexicon will disparage his work in the estimation of those who follow other lexicographers. By its use the author gains in uniformity, but loses in broadness and variety of signification; but, rising above such suspicions, it must be granted that the names—"Elohim," or God, "Jehovah," "El Shaddai," or God Almighty, "El Elyon," or Most High God, "Adonai," or Lord, "El Olam," or Everlasting God, "Jehovah Sabaoth," or Lord of Hosts, and Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as here interpreted, are authentic revelations of the nature and relationships of God. In the judgment of the author "Elohim" represents the unchanging love of God; "Jehovah," righteousness and truth; "El Shaddai," that he is a giver or pourer out of himself for others; and "El Elyon," that though Most High he is of a kindred nature with us. The other names represent more avowedly the relationships of God, "either to men or angels, or to the differing and successive ages in and through which he works his purposes," as the preceding names specifically represent his nature. The chapter on the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, all too brief for its design, nevertheless is suggestive of arguments in support of the doctrine of the Trinity that are not at once answerable. For instance (p. 174): "First, then, the 'name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' is *one name*, not three or many. Our Lord did not say, 'Baptizing them into the names,' but 'into the *name*, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'" God's name is threefold, but he is not three disconnected individualities. "Elohim" is plural in form; Adonai is plural in form; the one is translated God, the other Lord; but both are providential etymologies, expressive of the pluripersonality of God. In the "Appendix" the author attempts to answer the "objections which have been urged against the unity and divine inspiration of Holy Scripture," based chiefly on the plural forms of the divine names; but he is scarcely equal to the task—or rather, is too devotional in spirit to assume the role of a theologian if he would meet successfully the scientific criticism that stands in his path. On the whole, the book is scholarly, of pleasing style, regular in its development, and will be satisfactory to those in quest of logical and comforting proofs of the divine wisdom in the inspiration of the divine names.

Faith Papers. A Treatise on Experimental Aspects of Faith. By S. A. KEEN, D.D. Introduction by SHERIDAN BAKER, D.D. Pp. 144. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

This monograph deserves a wide circulation, both on account of the intrinsic worth of the subject and the lucid manner in which it is presented. Ten papers discuss the various aspects of faith "in the terms of experience rather than those of doctrine." Hence, the book is not the theology of the particular doctrine of faith, but the devotional discussion of the experience, with an application of the truth to the varied

states of the mind in its relation to religion. As a whole, "they are spiritual specifics for the cure of some form of unbelief. The first five treat of saving faith, and the last five of special faith." The author aims at clearness of distinction between spiritual conditions, and simplicity of expression in definition, so that the unlettered disciple of the Lord will have no difficulty in apprehending the teaching, or deriving strength and comfort from it. To the unbelieving he makes plain the way *to* faith; to the believing he discloses the way *of* faith; and, spiritually-guided, to all he proclaims the witness and fullness of faith, indicating the proofs of the experience, with characteristics and effects so fully portrayed as to satisfy the longing inquirer after the truth. Faith as a gift, and the relation of prayer and faith, are beautifully set forth, answering many questions without a resort to dogmatics, and awakening the purest spiritual impulses without the seeming attempt to do it. Didactic in substance, skillfully avoiding the one-sidedness of experts in doctrine, transparent in meaning, devotional in spirit, and withal scriptural in the unfolding of every aspect of faith, the small volume is a *vade mecum* in its specialty and to be commended to believers in heart-searching living. Dr. Keen deserves the thanks of the heavenly-minded in the Churches for giving to these papers the permanent form of a duodecimo.

The People's Bible. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., London. Vol. iii, O. T. Series. 1 Kings xv–1 Chron. ix. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 18 and 20 Astor Place. 8vo, cloth. Price, $1.50.

In this volume Dr. Parker displays the same originality of thought, the same insight into the hidden meaning of Scripture truth, the same adaptation to popular reading, though possibly not quite the same thoroughness of preparation, as the other volumes of the series exhibit. As he comments on the First and Second Books of Kings and the First Book of Chronicles, he necessarily discusses several historic characters, as Elijah, Ahab, Elisha, Jehoram, Jehu, Hezekiah, and Zerubbabel, analyzing deeds with a critical sagacity, and representing human nature under the license of evil and the restraints of providence and grace. The volume is an illustration of the erection and downfall of character—*a character lesson book.* Single sentences show this tendency, as: "Out of the ruins of Luther the monk, Christ will build Luther the Protestant reforming teacher;" "Elah lives in every man who has great chances or opportunities in life, but allows them to slip away through one leak in the character;" "Zimri still lives in all persons who take advantage of the weaknesses of others;" "Tibni and Omri are both living in the persons of those who divide public opinion respecting themselves;" "in Ahab, Obadiah, Elijah, and Jezebel we see a fourfold type of human society: there is the speculator, the godly servant, the far-seeing prophet, the cruel persecutor." And so every Bible character is made the type of modern character in some of its better or worse phases. In this department of analysis and application Dr. Parker excels.

His treatment of miracles may not be open to criticism, since it is not

profoundly theological, but it is objectionable to designate the principal events of 2 Kings iv as "Elisha's private miracles" (p. 116), since a miracle is not supposed to have been wrought "in a corner." They were domestic miracles, a knowledge of which became public, and created despair in the reigning house of Israel. With this slight exception the volume is valuable in its contents, and sustains its interest to the last page.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Capitals of Spanish America. By W. E. CURTIS, late Commissioner from the United States to the Governments of Central and South America. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 715. New York: Harper & Brothers. Cloth, extra, $3 50.

The statement is not far from the truth that to know the capital is to know the country. Paris is France; Constantinople is Turkey; Jerusalem is Palestine; Berlin is Germany; London is the British Empire. However dependent upon the country for bread and population, the city exercises indisputable leadership in all that pertains to national character and development. The exception is a country without cities and without capitals of average proportion and influence. The city is the focus of the country's greatness; the scholar, the inventor, the commercialist, the theologian, is prone to seek the patronage and associations of metropolitan life, deeming them necessary to the fullest realization of plans and hopes. Spanish America furnishes no exception to the general observation, for every capital is both historic and the heart-center of national movements and individual enterprises. The late commissioner from this country to South America has produced a volume of rich information regarding every country on the continent, it being accompanied with the unsigned but truthful indorsement of the late President Arthur, an indorsement not specially needed, since the book is its best recommendation. As Mr. Curtis visited these capitals and countries in his official capacity he had unusual opportunities for close and accurate observation, and, without doubt, saw things not exactly lawful for an outsider, such as he was, to utter. He is thoroughly realistic in his descriptions, and courageous enough to write with no sense of responsibility to that continent. Considering that he undertakes to disclose the political, social, and religious conditions of seventeen countries, interspersing bits of geography as necessary to the completed picture, he writes under restraint, but attains a brevity that makes the book readable and worthy of preservation.

The volume is a panorama of great cities with interstitial countries, much being seen that is not fully portrayed. The following sentence from "Mexico" illustrates his style and our comment: "The country within whose limits can be produced every plant that grows between the equator and the arctics, and whose mines have yielded one half of the existing silver in the world, is habitually bankrupt, and wooden effigies of saints stolen from the churches are sold as fuel for locomotives purchased with the proceeds of public taxation." Illustrations of palaces, cathedrals,

trees, beggars, etc., greatly aid in a conception of the country as it is, and with the text expose the deplorable results of the rule of Jesuitism and political chicanery in that materially well-endowed country. Thus he proceeds from capital to capital, or from country to country, depicting manners, customs, laws, political animosities and unities, and religious tendencies and aspirations. As to Guatemala, he says that "under a compulsory education law public schools have been established in every department of the republic," with free tuition and text-books, "the expenses being borne by the government."

In Honduras "there is said to be a greater variety of medicinal plants than in any country on the globe, and the botany of the country contains nearly every tree and flower and shrub known to man;" in Nicaragua "most of the people live in towns;" San Salvador, with a sea-coast of one hundred and fifty-seven miles, is without a harbor; Costa Rica is volcanic, and noted for "illegitimate births;" in Bogota there are no roads, the streets are named after the saints, and "the police do duty only at night;" Venezuela is without any "natural advantages," but it seems to us that if it has three zones, or three climates, it has more advantages than most cities; Quito is noted for filth, a narrow-gauge street-railway, and imports annually amounting to $10,000,000; Lima is Roman Catholic, no Protestant missionary effort ever having been made in that city; Santiago is jealous of the United States, but with her wealth, her shops of diamonds, her Alameda, her statuary and fountains, her Irish-descended citizens, her military bravery, her women hotel-keepers and milk-stations, and the favorable struggle now going on between the Catholic Church and the Liberals in her midst, her jealousy is as unnecessary as her vanity is wicked. A carefully written account of Buenos Ayres, telling us that "there are more daily papers in Buenos Ayres than in New York or London;" that the city maintains a board of trade, nine theaters, several race-courses, and uses gas, and trades with many nations, compensates for the reading. Perhaps there is no more interesting chapter in the book than the last, which is a vivid description of life in Rio de Janeiro. The Liberal element is in antagonism with Roman Catholicism; the emperor's power is limited; the currency of the country is "irredeemable paper shin plasters;" the people are economic of apparel; and the great problem of the country is that of labor. Excerpts like these may indicate the character of the volume, which should find a place in the library of the student, whether minister or layman, as it is superior in its class, and without a rival for comprehensiveness.

Hildebrand and His Times. By W. R. W. Stephens, M.A., Prebendary of Chichester and Rector of Woolbedding, Sussex, Author of *Life of S. John Chrysostom*, etc. Fcp. 8vo, pp. 230. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 80 cents.

This biography of the greatest genius in papal history, written by a careful investigator of the subject, deserves the considerate reading of all who would have an accurate representation of the man himself and the times that produced him. Possessed of the skill and power of an organizer, he

cannot well be separated from the age that called into exercise the strongest faculties of his mind and heart. It was the age of William of Normandy, Henry III. of Germany, the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, the expulsion of the Saracens from Europe, the beginnings of scholastic philosophy under Anselm, the elevation of the middle classes, and of fresh developments in language and literature. The papal Church, in conflict with the nascent national spirit every-where in Europe, was confronted with the alternative of surrendering its political control or making it more secure by strengthening its ecclesiastical prerogative and influence. Emperors on the one side, popes on the other—these are the front lines of the conflict. None saw more completely the situation than Hildebrand, none was as able to grapple with it as this man of iron nerve. He made and unmade popes; he was the terror of corrupt priests, bishops, and cardinals, and ruled when kings and popes dared not move. He was the power in Europe before he was invested with authority. Familiar with the papal programme by reason of his nearness to the pontifical chair, he discerned its weakness and inability to reduce the obstinate conditions of civilization. Equally posted as to imperial purposes by reason of his citizenship, he saw the opportunity to reconstruct the relation of the Church to the State, and, suddenly seized with the idea of a providential duty, he bent himself to the task of accomplishing the supremacy of the papal power in Europe. Crowned pope himself A. D. 1073, he completed his ideal in the consolidation of all power in the papacy, and crystallized the Church in the infallible authority of the successor of St. Peter. Hildebrand's scheme was colossal, magnificent; Hildebrand himself was pure and pious; his motives were religious, and supported by intelligent conviction; and to him more than to any other single mind is the Romish Church indebted for its organization and its idea of supremacy in all the affairs of the world.

He who reads Mr. Stephens's book will be rewarded with facts that constitute an historic period of surpassing interest to the general Church. His sources of knowledge have been abundant, and his delineation of events is characterized by a brevity that is attractive, but which is not inconsistent with the fullness of details necessary to a comprehension of the period in all its branches and relations. He is a compact writer, and endowed with the historic sense that enables him to discriminate between the accidental and the essential, thus giving to his book the character of a sifted treatise, and therefore valuable in proportion as it has been compressed. A map of central Europe, a chronological table of some events referred to in the volume, and a full index add to the merits of the book.

The Russian Peasantry: Their Agrarian Condition, Social Life, and Religion. By "Stepniak," Author of *Russia Under the Tsars.* Pp. 401. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The relation of the peasantry of Russia to the revolutions going on in the empire is not fully understood. The spirit of rebellion to the iniquities and the tyrannies of the Czarish government originally expressed itself in

the colleges and among the educated classes generally. Since, however, the great emancipations of 1861 and 1866, by which the rural populations were made free, the tendency to self-assertion, a desire for governmental reform, and a democratic purpose strong with hope has been as intense among them as formerly it was among the students and professors of the institutions. The uneasiness among them has been stimulated by a literature partly of their own creation, and partly the product of the higher teachers anxious to promote revolution among them. Such writers as Professor Yansen, Mrs. A. Efimenko, Gleb Uspensky, Yousoff, Shapov, and others have excited the noblest motives in the breasts of the peasantry, who now join hands with the educated multitudes in resisting the odious reign of the czar and in demanding unconditional reformation of his policy and legislation. "Stepniak," in the book before us, says: "Russian peasants are passing through an actual crisis—economical, social, and religious—and the future of our country depends upon its solution." He undertakes to show the existence of a "deeply-rooted dualism" in the life of the peasantry, or a death-struggle in which the "inner consciousness of the masses" is on one side, and the hostility of the outside power on the other. It is not difficult to calculate the momentum of the movement against the autocratic power when it is remembered that the agrarian populations constitute eighty-two per cent. of the census enumeration, or about sixty-three million souls. These united against oppression will be invincible, and the union of this mighty host under their own leadership, inspired by the sympathy of the educated brotherhood, is daily approaching reality. Progress in Russia will not be achieved by aggression on England's territorial rights in Asia, or by collisions with the neighboring Moslems, but by adjustment of the State to the popular demand for democracy. In nine chapters carefully written, and a few reprinted from London papers and magazines in which they first appeared, the author unfolds the condition of the masses, showing what place rationalism, sectarianism, and the "popular religion" occupy in the political fermentation now proceeding, and all along is directly or indirectly suggestive of the remedy for Russia's internal woes. This is the third book from the author on the general subject, the others being not a whit more interesting or more valuable than this one. In matter it is comprehensive; in diction forceful and learned; in style almost unblemishingly rhetorical; in interest profound and sustained to the end. It may assist the reader's appreciation of the book to be assured that "Stepniak" is probably none other than Mikhail Dragomanoff, quondam professor of Kiev University in South Russia, who for alleged political offenses in 1876 was, as were many others, expelled from Russia. His exile has been spent chiefly in London, where, finding sympathy and encouragement, he has in book-form exposed the weaknesses of the government of Russia, and contributed not a little to the political revolution no human power can successfully stay.

FICTION.

The publishing house of Harper & Brothers, New York, may be justly regarded as the fiction-publishing center of the country. Possessed of unusual facilities and resources, which enables them rapidly to execute their work; always careful in the selection of writers, and keenly critical of novels submitted to them for publication; the imprint of the house a guarantee of excellent mechanism on their part, and accomplished service on the part of authors, the books from their presses, 12mo or 16mo, paper-covered, cloth, or morocco bound, pass muster and enter at once into public circulation. Of the many recent issues from the house we may mention *The Mystery of Mirbridge*, an English tale, by James Payn, a prolific if not excessive novel-writer; *Wessex Tales*, the chief of which is "The Distracted Preacher," by Thomas Hardy, who excels in the portraiture of character; *Strange Adventures of a House-Boat*, by William Black, a prince of novelists; *Virginia of Virginia*, the story of a bold but finally penitent girl, by Amélie Rives, a writer of good English and pure thought; *The Fatal Three, or the Tracing of the Powers of Fate in Human Life*, by M. E. Braddon, who is of a philosophic cast of mind; and *Mr. Meeson's Will* and *Maiwa's Revenge*, the first a weird and pathetic biographical combination, the second a repetitive narrative of *King Solomon's Mines*, with modifications and additions sufficient, however, to establish its individuality, by H. Rider Haggard, who, as a new writer, is exceeding popular, and whose books, spun from a strange imagination, are readable, and are read by the multitudes.

So far as these novels attempt to unravel the intricacies and incongruities of human life, teaching a high moral end in incident or the drift of the narrative, they may be recommended to the sober-minded as a relief from the taxing study of life in its theologic and philosophic aspects.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Tales from English History in Prose and Verse. Selected from the Works of Standard Authors. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., Litt. D. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 166. New York: Harper & Brothers. Cloth, 56 cents.

This is one of a series of English classics edited by an eminent *littérateur*, furnishing pleasant summer reading. The selections are excellent, Macaulay, Sir Walter Scott, Tennyson, Southey, Thornbury, B. Taylor, A. de Vere, Cowper, and Wolfe being the principal authors quoted. More important, however, than these are the "Notes" of the editor, which are biographical, historical, and explanatory of lines, references, and phrases in the text. The index is also an aid to the enjoyment of the classic.

The Holy Spirit the Conservator of Orthodoxy. A Sermon by Daniel Steele, D.D.

The remedy for infidelity, agnosticism, heterodoxy, or intellectual departures from the truth is the indwelling Holy Ghost. The sermon is explicit in statement, historical in its proofs, and convincing in its presentation.

Housekeeping Made Easy. By CHRISTINE TERHUNE HERRICK. 16mo, pp. 313. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

Many readers will thank this author for the practical teaching of this book. It is not philosophical, but it is adapted to every-day life in the home, from the kitchen to the parlor, and from the beginning to the end of every week. She is minute sometimes beyond the necessity of the case, leaving nothing to the invention or judgment of the inexperienced, or poor, or indifferent housekeeper; but she writes from an extensive experience, and hopes to be useful. The chapters are a reprint from *Harper's Bazar*, in which they first appeared, and now they go forth in the more permanent form of a book.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

J. W. MENDENHALL, D.D., LL.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1888.

ART. I.—LEA'S MEDIÆVAL INQUISITION.*

THE thought uttered by the greatest of ancient orators, by way of apology for his tardy discussion of the disastrous blunders committed by the Athenian commonwealth, was both just and wholesome: that, although the time of the occurrences in question had long gone by, the time for the consideration of such matters is never past in the estimation of sensible men.

There is much talk respecting the propriety of doing away with the discussion of the issues of the past, and of confining attention to what are called the burning questions of the hour. Most of this talk is unphilosophical, much of it is pernicious. If the moral questions that deeply agitated the men of other centuries had been both fairly and fully discussed, and had then been met in an answer universally accepted as ultimate and conclusive, there might be propriety in the course recommended. In most cases, however, there has been nothing of the kind. The war of words was suspended only because of the exhaustion of the strength or patience of the contestants, who abandoned the field reluctantly with scarce suppressed expressions of dissent upon their lips. The fire may seem to have burned itself out, through lack of combustible matter at hand; it left an abundance of glowing coals beneath the ashes, quite ready on occasion to burst forth again into flame. There

* *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages.* In three volumes. 8vo. By HENRY CHARLES LEA, Author of "*An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy*," "*Superstition and Force*," "*Studies in Church History*." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1888.

is no safety for the world so long as a single error in morals remains unrefuted in the judgment of any considerable body of historic thinkers and others.

We have been led to this train of thought by taking up the three solid volumes of which the title stands at the head of this article. Why, we asked ourselves, so long a time of study as was requisite on the part of the author in preparation? Why so many days of patient reading as the eighteen hundred pages demand of the student who would thoroughly master the result of his researches? Is not the Inquisition either obsolete or too harmless an institution to deserve notice? If the palace of the Inquisition still stands at Rome in the shadow of St. Peter's, is not the power of the "Holy Office" so thoroughly departed as to be beneath contempt?

The answer to such objections is to be found in the fact, that the Inquisition stands forth throughout its entire history as the visible embodiment and representative of the doctrine of the right and duty of those who claim to be in possession of the truth to exact conformity of belief and practice of all others, by a resort to physical as well as moral force. It may be true that you can go through the ancient halls of the Inquisition at Rome or at Avignon without seeing a single instrument of torture, but the intolerant principle which there found expression is not dead beyond the possibility of a resurrection; if, indeed, we ought not rather to say that it still retains its vitality but little impaired. It will do the world no harm—it may do it an inestimable good—to rehearse in the ears of the present generation the story of former struggles to obtain a clear and undisputed right to the freedom of religious thought and religious profession.

The author of the volumes before us has come to his theme with a full equipment for the discussion of the important historical questions which it involves. By close and patient study of the original sources, as well as of the extensive modern literature that has sprung up bearing upon the subject, he has obtained a very exact acquaintance with the period under consideration. From time to time he has, within the past twenty years or so, published some special results of his researches. In 1867 he gave to the world a sketch of the growth of priestly celibacy in the Christian Church; two years later,

under the title of *Studies in Church History*, appeared three essays from his pen, treating of the rise of the Temporal Power, the Benefit of Clergy, and Excommunication; besides which, in his *Superstition and Force*, he has discussed such themes of antiquarian as well as of legal and general interest as the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal, etc. No one of these books, however, compares in importance with the comprehensive historical work which is now for the first time given to the press. As the title indicates, Professor Lea has found it impracticable to treat of the entire existence of the Inquisition within the compass of a single work. The present volumes confine themselves to the Mediæval period, or from the institution of the dread tribunal in the first half of the thirteenth century to the time of the great Reformation of the sixteenth century. There still remains a no less important story to tell —that of the activity of the "Holy Office" in the vain effort to suppress the revolt of the human intellect and heart against superstition and the degrading yoke of the Roman Catholic Church within the bounds of what we style the Modern Age. We doubt whether the just treatment of this subject would demand a smaller number of volumes than have been devoted to its predecessor. The author, in his preface, informs us that he has collected much material for this necessary supplement to his work, and gives us reason to hope that he will undertake its preparation at some future date.

Meanwhile, if the portion of the general theme which is thus deferred is that which is likely to prove of the greater general interest, we can thank the author for a work, complete in itself and covering a field marked off by well-defined boundaries, which is an honor to American scholarship and of substantial benefit to all lovers of history. The *Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, for breadth and thoroughness of investigation, for clearness and accuracy of exposition, and for fairness and impartiality of treatment, is not unworthy of a place among the best fruits of the historical labors of our day. Professor Lea uses a dignified and straightforward style, which never lacks in strength, while it never betrays any evidence that the writer is striving to produce an effect. His object being to instruct, and not to move, his manner is calm even when dealing with scenes most adapted to touch the sensibili-

ties; and if he never indulges in extravagant praise he never, on the other hand, gives the rein to unmeasured condemnation. Under this treatment, the facts are made, for the most part, to speak for themselves, and the reader, with mind clear of impressions made by the glowing rhetoric of the passionate advocate, is permitted to form his own conclusions with a state of mind as nearly as possible free of all prepossessions. The references to the authorities are conscientiously given at the close of almost every paragraph, and the reader is thus furnished with the means of judging of the course of the author's study, as well as of pursuing the investigation, if desired, still further in any given direction.

With regard to the scope of the entire work, it may be noticed that it is much wider than the title might lead one to suppose. There were few great intellectual or religious movements of the Middle Ages with which the Inquisition was not concerned in some way or other. The charge which Edgar Quinet brought against the Jesuits in modern times was measurably true of the Inquisition from the time of its institution. Every step that humanity attempted to take in the direction of improvement, physical or moral, was opposed by the Inquisition, and, if successful, its success was obtained in spite of the Inquisition. Nor is this strange. Innovation of any kind was the object of the inquisitor's special aversion. It was no accident that the inquisitor, when he convened the people of a district for the purpose of calling upon them to assist in ferreting out concealed heretics, uniformly commanded them to bring him the name of any person who "differed in life and morals from the ordinary conversation of the faithful." If difference there was, certainly it was much safer for the person in question that the distinction should be in the direction of greater vice than in that of greater conscientiousness and purity of deportment; for the Inquisition dealt primarily only with heretical sentiments, and, according to the views it held, sinful indulgence of the passions might be compatible with orthodoxy, while extraordinary purity of life almost of necessity implied the acceptance of a higher code of morals than that which the priests inculcated and their flocks observed. It was, therefore, by no means absurd that in the early days of the Inquisition a certain Jean Teisseire, when summoned before the

tribunal of Toulouse, defended himself by what seems at first a most remarkable plea: "I am not a heretic. . . . I eat flesh, and lie, and swear, and am a faithful Christian." *

Of Professor Lea's three books, each of which is co-extensive with a volume, the first is devoted to "The Origin and Organization of the Inquisition," the second to "The Inquisition in the Several Lands of Christendom," and the third to "Special Fields of Inquisitorial Activity." To a few of the salient points we shall direct attention as our space may admit.

Had the Inquisition been established as a means of reforming the clergy, there would have been more justification for its existence than can now be found. The state of the professed ministers of Christ at the close of the twelfth century forms the subject of the first chapter of the history. The picture presented is dark and forbidding, for the men who had entered into the fold in the guise of shepherds of the flock had lost every trait of resemblance to the primitive spiritual guides. Disqualified for teaching the truths of the Gospel by their own ignorance of its very first principles, at least they did not pretend to undertake an impossible task. The ribald Abbé de Brantôme, writing about four centuries later, somewhere gives us his ideas on this subject, when he expresses his astonishment that any one should deem preaching of much importance in the Church. Sermons, he tells us, may be a very good thing for winning over pagans and making Christians of them; but of what possible use they could be to those already within the pale he could not conceive. Evidently holding the same notion, the clergy of the twelfth century did not even expect the parish priest to preach at all—that duty, if it fell to any body, belonged to the bishop. His duty was to recite the service, to hear confessions, to baptize, and celebrate the mass. By means of a religion of forms and ceremonies, the objects of superstitious respect, and supposed to possess some sort of magic power, he and his superiors ruled the people with a rod of iron. Their office was a ministry or service only in name. In reality, the sole purpose of every rank in the hierarchy was the acquisition of power and wealth. Between the religion of the age and personal morality the divorce was complete. The celibacy of the priesthood had by this time not only become

* Lea, i, 98.

general but enforced. That its results were not such as the advocates of the system had promised was clear enough from the circumstance that, while the spectacle of a village curate living virtuously with a wife would have horrified the faithful and caused them to rise in open revolt, the immorality of the great majority of their priests had become a fact so notorious as to create no surprise, and to be accepted, for the most part, as a matter of course.

With a ministry that had lost all sense of its true functions; with popes and bishops who spent their time in the chase and in luxurious living when they were not engaged in unseemly disputes or in actual warfare; with priests whose object was to wring from the people the largest amount of money possible for their support by means of tithes and fines and fees of every kind, the outlook of the Christian world throughout Europe was dark and forbidding. Happily, when all seemed to be going to ruin, men were raised up by God to protest against and oppose the almost resistless current. The Church stigmatized as heretics the men who undertook to lay bare and correct the existing evils; they were in reality the Church's saviours. To what lower depths of infamy she might have descended but for their interference it is beyond the power of man to say. The Roman Catholic Church has as yet erected no monuments of gratitude to the Albigenses or to the Vaudois, as she has reared no statues to John Huss, to Wiclif, or to Luther; but that does not diminish the truth of the statement that those early reforming sects, like their successors, the Reformers of Bohemia, of Oxford, and of Wittenberg, supplied the salt without which the seething corruption of the ecclesiastical mass would long since have brought about its complete destruction.

The two leading opponents of the clergy in its degenerate condition were undoubtedly the Waldenses and the Cathari, better known, from their connection with a particular district of France, as the Albigenses. Respecting the tenets of the Waldenses, Professor Lea's views do not differ from those of previous writers. To use his words (i, 80), theirs was "a simple-hearted endeavor to obey the commands of Christ, and make the Gospel an actual standard for the conduct of daily life." Starting with the principle of faith that the authority of God alone, as expressed in his written word, is to be regarded as

supreme and to be implicitly obeyed, they rejected all that they found in the organization, the belief, and the practice of the Church of that age which was in conflict with the Holy Scriptures, especially the doctrine of a purgatory, and of the masses, prayers, and alms for the dead. Thus they laid the ax at the root of the most profitable source of priestly revenue. As they furthermore held that the commission to preach the Gospel was originally given not to the ministry alone, but to laymen as well, and even to women, and as they taught that sincere prayer to God is as effectual in a private house or in a stable as in a consecrated edifice, their opposition to the hierarchal system could scarcely have been more pronounced.

The majority of modern scholars reject the theory that the Waldenses have maintained themselves as a distinct body of believers ever since the time of the apostles. Professor Emilio Comba, the most distinguished Waldensian historian of our day, has distinctly taken the opposite view in a remarkable article published in the *Rivista Cristiana* some six years ago, as well as in his later history. He sees no sufficient proof of the existence of the Waldenses or Vaudois previous to the rise of Peter Waldo, of Lyons, in the twelfth century, and to the translation of the New Testament from the Latin Vulgate into the Romance dialect, which was made in consequence of his efforts. Professor Lea, as also Dr. George P. Fisher, in his *History of the Reformation* (p. 57), accepts this conclusion.

While of the orthodoxy of the Waldenses there can be no reasonable doubt, it is otherwise as to that of the Cathari or Albigenses. Professor Lea unhesitatingly adopts the view that the latter were Manichæans, and traces the historical origin of their religious belief back to the disciples of Paul of Samosata. He has given us a long and not uninteresting account of the tenets of the western sect, and has shown wherein he maintains that they substantially agree with the doctrines of the Oriental heretics. The Albigenses believed in the existence of two distinct and warring principles, the one the author of spirit and of all good, the other the former of the material universe and the author of evil. They rejected the Old Testament as the product of the latter, and as opposed in its principles to the teachings of the New Testament, which they professed to hold in the highest veneration. They substituted sacraments of their

own in place of those of the Christian Church—a benediction of bread in place of the Lord's Supper, and an imposition of hands, supposed to confer the influences of the Holy Spirit, which they termed *consolamentum*, and which the inquisitors nicknamed "heretication," in place of baptism. They believed that the *consolamentum* had the effect of removing all guilt and securing salvation. They even believed in some sort of transmigration of souls after death.

Thus far our author admits without question the accusations of their enemies. For that the allegations are based upon these almost exclusively appears from the fact that the "extensive popular literature" of the Albigenses "has utterly perished, saving a Catharan version of the New Testament in Romance and a book of ritual" (i, 101, 102).* But he repudiates as incredible the wild stories of nocturnal orgies at Albigensian gatherings which have been handed down to us on the pages of hostile chroniclers. He interprets as conclusive on this point the silence of the interrogatories of the Inquisition, a silence scarcely less eloquent than the positive assertion of St. Bernard:

> If you interrogate them, nothing can be more Christian; as to their conversation, nothing can be less reprehensible, and what they speak they prove by deeds. As for the morals of the heretic, he cheats no one, he oppresses no one, he strikes no one; his cheeks are pale with fasting, he eats not the bread of idleness; his hands labor for his livelihood.†

Professor Lea does full justice to the wonderful missionary ardor of the Albigenses, which no difficulties could daunt, no disappointments quench. He testifies to their singular truthfulness, their "supernatural" conscientiousness. He is led to wonder what there was in their faith to inspire men with the

* "The only known literary relic of the Albigenses is a manuscript in the library of the *Palais des Arts* at Lyons. It consists of a translation of the New Testament in a Provençal dialect closely related to the Spanish, and a liturgical appendix. . . . Nothing, it seems, in this translation would suggest the heterodoxy of its authors; that it should contain the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans will surprise no one who is acquainted with the unsettled state of opinion in the mediæval Church with regard to this epistle. It is the appended ritual which betrays the Catharic origin of the manuscript, and that more by its formulas for certain religious acts than by any positive doctrinal statements. It interprets, however, Jude 23 in a dualistic sense, and applies a series of passages to the baptism of the Spirit in such a way as tacitly to exclude water baptism."—*London Quarterly Review*, No. vii, p. 5.

† Lea, i, 101.

enthusiastic zeal of martyrdom, and he confidently declares that "no religion can show a more unbroken roll of those who unshrinkingly and joyfully sought death in its most abhorrent form in preference to apostasy." "If the blood of the martyrs were really the seed of the Church," he somewhat cynically adds, "Manichæism would now be the dominant religion of Europe" (i, 104).

The last sentence strikes us as being even more significant than it was intended to be. Was it a mere accident that the particular regions in which the Albigensian "heresy" flourished, and from which it was violently uprooted in the thirteenth century, partly by war, partly by the most cruel of persecutions, were the very regions where the truths of the Reformation were most gladly received two hundred or two hundred and fifty years later?* Was it a fortuitous circumstance that the stronghold of the Albigenses became the stronghold of the Huguenots? Evidently some seed sown long since had sprung up, and the seed is wont to give rise to a plant of the same kind as that which produced it. We suspect that the last word has yet to be spoken concerning the Albigenses; we imagine that were the truth fully known it would be found that Manichæism was by no means so generally prevalent among them as their enemies would have us believe, and that the type of doctrine and practice among the masses approximated far more nearly than those enemies would have us believe to the religion of the unquestionably orthodox Waldenses.†

The story of the crusades against the Albigenses is a familiar one; it is told with spirit and picturesqueness by the writer before us. It is unnecessary to advert to it further than to call attention to the circumstance that the comparative failure of

* The *auto da fé* at which Pierre Autier was burned, and which, as Professor Lea states, may be said to close the bloody drama of Catharism in Languedoc, occurred in April, 1310, and the last Albigensian victims of the Inquisition were executed in 1329 (Lea, ii, 107, 108). The death by slow fire of the Protestant lawyer, Jean de Caturce, at Toulouse, took place in the summer of 1532.

† The opinion of M. Alexandre Lombard appears to have probability in its favor: "Nous persistons à croire . . . que les Albigeois pris dans leur ensemble n'étaient pas proprement des Manichéens, mais seulement des partisans d'un système mixte et confus, oscillant entre l'Evangile et le dualisme, et que sauf quelques rares exceptions, on ne saurait renfermer leurs vues dans une formule absolue et bien définie."—*Pauliciens, Bulgares et Bons-Hommes en Orient et en Occident* (Genève, 1879), 146, 147.

those savage wars to effect their object—the annihilation of "heresy"—served as the occasion for the establishment of the Inquisition. All open resistance to the Papal See had been overcome by the triumphant arms of Simon de Montfort. No Count of Toulouse dared longer interpose his shield between his unoffending subjects of a different religious creed and the thunderbolt of pontifical vengeance. No Catholics of more tolerant disposition could now be found to make common cause with the heretics with whom they had long lived upon terms of amity and forbearance, and whom they had come to respect, if not to love. Had not the Catholics of Béziers been allowed to perish undistinguishably from their Albigensee fellow-citizens, while the papal legate looked on, unconcerned about their fate, because, as he said, the Almighty would know his own? But there were many thousands, in every diocese of Languedoc, infected with the contagion of "heresy," whom it was difficult to discern, and whom, consequently, the sword could not reach. How should they be detected and punished?

For that they must be punished for their erroneous views in matters of religion few, if any, at that time seem to have doubted. The reluctance and hesitation which, as Professor Lea shows (i, 218), had been evinced in the eleventh century, about the infliction of the death penalty, had all disappeared. He that was guilty of "treason to God" must not be spared, any more than the man who had committed treason to his earthly king. And yet the Church felt some repugnance to doing the bloody work itself. It had no scruples about finding the accused guilty, but it must leave to others the sentence of death and the execution. That it desired, that it was resolved that the heretic should be put to death, was not even left to be inferred. The secular magistrate was warned that he would be derelict to his duty, he was himself threatened with the divine vengeance, should he fail to avenge the injuries committed against God. And yet here we have a precious piece of indirection (to use the mildest word our vocabulary affords), in the uniform practice of the Roman Catholic Church even down to the present time. Every time that the Church turns over a culprit under its laws to the "secular arm" it is with an express recommendation to mercy, which the "secular arm" is already warned by the general legislation of the Church he

cannot comply with save at his peril. At every instance, these many hundred years, of the "degradation" of a clergyman who has been handed to the secular arm and put to death, these words have been pronounced, and they are still enjoined to be used: "Lord Judge, we entreat you, as affectionately as we can, as well by the love of God as from pity and compassion, and out of respect for our prayers, that you do this wretched man no injury tending to death or the mutilation of his body." *

Up to the time of the Albigensian wars the supervision of the orthodoxy of their dioceses had been regarded as the function of the bishops exclusively. They alone were responsible for the freedom of their flocks from the stain of heresy, and they alone were expected to ferret out the teachers of erroneous doctrines. True, for a considerable period there had been little call for their activity in this direction.

> The stupor of the tenth century was too profound for heresy, which presupposes a certain amount of healthy mental activity. The Church, ruling unquestioned over the slumbering consciences of men, laid aside the rusted weapons of persecution and forgot their use. †

But now that persecution was to be called into requisition as never before, the bishops were ill adapted to the performance of a work that belonged to them from time immemorial. Chosen without regard to fitness for the discharge of the spiritual functions of their office, the bishops, as a general thing, were as worldly and ungodly as any members of the body politic. They might now and then take part in some great church festival (though usually they deputed their duties of this nature to others better qualified for their discharge), but they were far more at home on the battlefield than in the cathedral, and the helmet and sword became them better than the miter and crozier. It was evident that if left to them alone the work of discovering and punishing heretics would

* Here is the original: "Domine judex, nos te omni quo possumus studio rogamus, cum propter Deum, tum etiam propter dona pietatis ac misericordiæ nostrasque preces, ne in hunc miserum atque infelicem hominem aliquid mali constituas, quod ad mortem, aut mutilationem corporis ejus pertineat." The formula was pronounced before the execution of Jean Châtellain, in 1525. See J. Crispinus, *Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum*, ed. 1560, fol. 46. They are found under the proper office in the last edition we have consulted of the *Pontificale Romanum*.

† Lea, i, 218.

never be performed. The clumsy device had been tried of selecting seven men of mature age and approved integrity in each parish—*testes synodales*, or synodal witnesses, they were called—who were sworn upon relics to reveal whatever irregularities they might be able to discover. But even this worked unsatisfactorily. In fact, the episcopate of the province of Languedoc in particular was quite ready to be rid of the burdensome duty of inquiring into the orthodoxy of the people, and to hail any scheme that would afford it relief.

At this juncture the pontifical see bethought itself of the possibility of utilizing the youthful energies of the newly established Mendicant Orders. In 1214 Domingo de Guzman had founded the order henceforth to be known as the Order of St. Dominic. In 1221 Giovanni Bernardone, nicknamed by his youthful companions Francesco, gathered the first general chapter of the rival Order of the Franciscans.

> The Holy See was thus provided with a militia, recruited and sustained at the expense of the faithful, panoplied in invulnerability, and devoted to its exclusive service. In order that its usefulness might suffer no limitation, in 1241 Gregory IX. granted to the friars the privilege of freely living in the lands of excommunicates, and of asking and receiving assistance and food from them. They could, therefore, penetrate every-where, and serve as secret emissaries in the dominions of those hostile to Rome. Human ingenuity could have devised no more efficient army, for not only were they full of zeal and inspired with profound convictions, but the reputation for superior sanctity which they every-where acquired secured for them popular sympathy and support, and gave them an enormous advantage in any contest with local churches.*

It is well known that the story that Dominic was the founder of the Inquisition and the first inquisitor-general is a myth. True, the historians of the Dominican Order stoutly assert it, and Sixtus V. pronounced in favor of it *ex cathedra* in his bull *Invictarum*. But even the dogma of papal infallibility cannot save the tradition, inasmuch as Dominic died in 1221, and the Inquisition cannot be said to have been organized until more than ten years later. Nor, indeed, can the Dominican Order lay exclusive claim to such honor as it might derive from being the sole instrument in organizing and perfecting the Inquisition.

* Lea, i, 274, 275.

One of the most important chapters of Mr. Lea's book is that which treats of the organization of the new institution. This was at first extremely simple and unostentatious. In fact, through its whole history the Holy Office studiously avoided display, and sought rather to "paralyze with terror" than to dazzle men's eyes by splendor. One or two inquisitors whose activities were limited by the bounds of a province of the order to which they belonged, took up their residence in the chief town or city, and made that their center. Their web, however, reached to the farthest extremities of the province, and was only the more dangerous that its threads were almost invisible. Ever and anon the friar, dressed in the simple habit of St. Dominic or St. Francis, made a quiet foray or inquest to obtain information. A few days in advance of his coming he would notify the ecclesiastics of a given town or village to assemble all the people in the church to gain an indulgence of twenty or forty days, as he might elect, which he was empowered to grant to them. On his arrival he preached to the gathered multitude a sermon, and dwelt upon the necessity laid upon every true believer of coming to the help of Mother Church. He bade all to come to him, at his place of sojourn, in some convent or other house in the town, and, within six or twelve days, reveal the name of any person respecting whom they might have learned or heard any thing tending to create a belief or suspicion that he might be a heretic or defamed for heresy, or that he might have spoken against any article of the faith, or that he differed in life or morals from the common conversation of the faithful. Compliance with this command secured an indulgence of three years. Those who neglected to comply with it were, by that very neglect, excommunicated, and their excommunication could be removed by the inquisitor alone. At the same time a promise of mercy was extended to any heretic who, within a certain time of grace, would voluntarily come, acknowledge and abjure his errors, and denounce by name the partners of his heresy.

All this was very simple; but it was very effective. At the close of his short visit, the inquisitor went back to his headquarters as quietly as he came, but with a precious budget of accusations that might keep him profitably occupied for months, and might cost a community the ruin of many homes and the

loss of many lives. Of the terror produced by the inquisitorial foray and of its results, Mr. Lea says:

> No one could know what stories might be circulating about himself which zealous fanaticism or personal enmity might exaggerate and carry to the inquisitor, and in this the orthodox and the heretic would suffer alike. All scandals passing from mouth to mouth would be brought to light. All confidence between man and man would disappear. Old grudges would be gratified in safety. To him who had been heretically inclined the terrible suspense would grow day by day more insupportable, with the thought that some careless word might have been treasured up to be now revealed by those who ought to be nearest and dearest to him, until at last he would yield and betray others rather than be betrayed himself. Gregory IX. boasted that, on at least one such occasion, parents were led to denounce their children, and children their parents, husbands their wives, and wives their husbands. We may well believe Bernard Gui when he says that each revelation led to others, until the invisible net extended far and wide, and that not the least of the benefits thence arising were the extensive confiscations which were sure to follow.*

The industry of the tribunal of the Inquisition was amazing. Every thing was committed to writing; every question and every answer of the interrogatories; every judgment, whether preliminary or final—all passed under the hands of the notary and were carefully preserved. A prodigious mass of papers was accumulated in every center of inquisitorial activity—the whole arranged and catalogued with scrupulous nicety. Indeed, it would seem that a duplicate of all important documents was made for preservation in some safe place as a safeguard in case of the destruction of the originals by accident or by the concerted action of those who might fear the damage their compromising contents could do. As the inquisitor in any one province was or might be in constant communication with the inquisitors of every other province in Christendom, he stood ready at a moment's notice to furnish copies or abstracts of documents or simple indications respecting any suspected person. In the Decisions of the Holy Office of Toulouse between the years 1307 and 1323, which were rescued from oblivion and published nearly two centuries ago by the Dutch preacher and professor, Philip a Limborch,† and which still rank among the

* Lea, i, 372, 373.

† *Historia inquisionis cui subjungitur liber sententiarum inquisitionis Tholosanæ ab anno* 1307 *ad annum* 1323. Amsterdam, 1692, folio.

most valuable material for a history of the operations of the Inquisition, we have the record of the trial of 636 culprits, and at the end an index of the names "grouped under their places of residence alphabetically arranged, with reference to the pages on which their names occur, and brief mention of the several punishments inflicted on each, and of any subsequent modifications of the penalty, thus enabling the official who wished information as to the people of any hamlet to see at a glance who among them had been suspected and what had been done." *

No wonder that with so complete a system it appeared to be utterly impossible to escape from the meshes of the dreaded tribunal. No spot in the civilized world was too distant or too obscure to be reached by the Inquisition; it seemed to be endowed with the attributes of omnipotence and omnipresence. No lapse of time could protect from its terrible revelations; it never forgot. The sins of childhood were remembered and visited upon old age after the lapse of fifty years. The misdeeds, or, still worse, the heresy, of the grandfather was unearthed to prevent the advance of the grandson to posts of honor or trust. It was commonly believed, indeed, that no man was safe from the records of the Inquisition; for if no record was to be found that was to his disadvantage the guardians of these books of fate would not hesitate to fabricate documents such as would serve their purpose.

The Inquisition was not the first tribunal to resort to torture as a means of discovering the truth; nor was it, unfortunately, the last to abandon what has well been styled "a devilish invention brought from hell for the purpose of tormenting men." † Employed in ancient times, even by the cultured Greeks in dealing with witnesses that were slaves, and by the Romans in their examination of those that did not possess the coveted citizenship, its long course of misery, every step marked by groans of agony coming from the human breast, did not end until the very beginning of the present century. Even so late as in 1777 the learned and upright Verri found it necessary to write his *Observations* to prove to his countrymen that the time had come for the abolition of torture. And

* Lea, i, p. 379.

† "Inventum diabolicum ad excruciandos homines de tormentis infernalibus allatum." Weisenbeck, in Pietro Verri, *Osservazioni sulla tortura*, § 14.

he was at the pains to demonstrate not only its intrinsic futility as an instrument for reaching the truth, but its intrinsic injustice.* But, though others have used torture, it was reserved for the Inquisition to secure the highest refinement of cruelty. To the Inquisition, too, rightfully belongs the credit of superior ingenuity in circumventing the more decorous legislation of the Church. The ecclesiastical authorities have always been averse to the application of torture or the shedding of blood by a person in orders. A priestly judge might without reproach find a culprit guilty of a crime such as heresy; but he must hand him over to the "secular arm" to be put to death. Even a barbarous age could not close its eyes to the incongruity that arose when a professed minister of the Gospel of peace assumed the office of the common executioner. Strictly, therefore, the Inquisition should have relied upon the "secular arm" to apply torture. This, however, was found extremely inconvenient, and tended to awkward delays. A happy thought occurred to the ingenious friars. For a clergymen to apply torture was indeed "irregular;" but "irregularities" might be committed and afterward pardoned. A bull was obtained from Alexander IV., in 1256, authorizing inquisitors and their associates to absolve each other and mutually grant dispensations for irregularities. Nor was this the only point in which the shrewdness of the "Holy Office" stood it in good stead. It was a rule that torture should not be twice applied. To avoid the necessity of doing so, the process was not terminated, but merely suspended, on each occasion, and might be resumed just as often as necessary. So, too, there was some objection to making use of admissions wrung from a prisoner when on the rack or suffering from the thumb-screw; they might seem to be the result of constraint. It was more prudent and decorous to obtain an independent repetition of it, some hours later, when the victim was no longer in the presence of the instruments of torture, but still had a very vivid memory of his excruciating torments.

* The treatise of the great Italian novelist, Alessandro Manzoni, on the history of the "Colonna Infame" of Milan—a monument erected to commemorate the horrible trial and execution of the supposed authors of the spread of the plague in that city in 1630—is rendered doubly valuable by the Appendix, which contains the whole of Verri's essay.

We have confined ourselves in our comments thus far to the rich matter found in the first of Professor Lea's volumes, for the reason that this part of his work is of a more general character, and that the subsequent portions deal with particular themes, of which the cursory view which we might give could convey no adequate idea. The eight chapters of the second volume, in which the operations of the Inquisition in Languedoc, in the rest of France, in the Spanish Peninsula, in Italy, among the Slaves, in Germany and in Bohemia, against the Hussites, are successively described, every-where display great fairness and careful investigation, although of necessity all parts are not equally interesting to the reader who is not a specialist. The pages containing the condemnation and death of Bernard Délicieux (the great enemy of the Inquisition, who declared that against its insidious methods St. Peter and St. Paul themselves would stand no chance, were they arraigned on the preposterous charge of "adoring" a heretic), and the passages respecting the French Waldenses in chapter ii, and the Hussites in chapter viii, strike us as particularly valuable. The last two chapters of the volume may be read profitably in connection with the first two volumes of Mandell Creighton on the *History of the Papacy*, published six years since.

The third volume is devoted to some special departments of inquisitorial activity which could not conveniently be considered under the geographical distribution of the preceding book. The titles of the chapters are the "Spiritual Franciscans," "Guglielma and Dolcino," "The Fraticelli," "Political Heresy Utilized by the Church," "Political Heresy Utilized by the State," "Sorcery and Occult Arts," "Witchcraft," and "Intellect and Faith." It will be seen that the author's plan leads him to the discussion of some subjects which might seem to belong rather to a general history of civilization than to a work specifically devoted to the fortunes of the Inquisition; but no scholar will find fault with their introduction in these volumes, where, in the very nature of the case, the part which the Inquisition played can be elucidated and set forth at a greater length than would be proper elsewhere. In illustration we may refer to two famous incidents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively—the trial and condemnation of the Templars at the instigation of Philip the

Fair of France, and the judicial murder of Joan of Arc, which together occupy not far from one hundred and fifty pages. Both cases are stated with much force. It is almost needless to say that so candid an historian as Professor Lea elsewhere shows himself to be, acquits the Templars on every one of the monstrous charges for which they were tried, and of which they were most unrighteously found guilty. Corrupt in manners and morals the Knights of the Temple may have been, and indeed undoubtedly were, but it was not their heterodoxy but their wealth that effected their downfall.

We trust that the life and health of Professor Lea may be spared, and that he may be permitted at some future day to bring out the other volumes, of which he gives us the promise, devoted to the history of the Inquisition since the time of the Reformation. Although there are points in his religious views where we can by no means agree with him, and some statements arising from those views which we have been sorry to see in the present work, we welcome the results of his laborious and conscientious study as an extremely valuable addition to our American historical literature. From a perusal of his book no earnest Protestant can rise without a feeling of renewed thankfulness that he was not born within the fold of a corrupt Church whose course for the past one thousand years has been characterized by as much cruel oppression and bloodshed as its doctrines are marked by a lamentable departure from the truths contained in the Gospel. Nor will he forget to bless God that his lot has been cast in the nineteenth century, instead of the thirteenth or the fourteenth. It will not be amiss, however, if, with the sense of gratitude to Heaven for the superior enlightenment of the age in which we live, there should be associated a recognition of the fact that vigilance is the only price of safety; that the same tendencies that gave birth to the Inquisition, with its brood of attendant evils, still exist; and that, as the acute author of *The Errors of Romanism Traced to their Origin in Human Nature* has so clearly shown, the deceitful heart of man is at any time quite capable of repeating its mistakes and its crimes, in the same or in different forms, but with no less disastrous results.

HENRY M. BAIRD.

Art. II.—IS THE BOOK OF JONAH HISTORICAL?

The Book of Jonah is unique; a prodigy in literature, and a tax on the sincere faith of the race. In many regards it is so different from any other book in the canon that it is not at all wonderful to find some besides German Rationalists who have difficulty in accepting it as literal history. Probably no other forty-eight verses in the Bible contain so much of the marvelous and miraculous. Yet the mere fact of its being very different from all other books in the Bible is no certain, if any, evidence against its genuine historical character. As in the book of nature there are no two objects precisely alike, so also in the Bible no two miracles are identical in every particular. For God has revealed himself not only "by divers portions," but also "in divers manners." We, who believe in the supernatural and miraculous, have no valid reason for not accepting this book as historical simply because of the dissimilarity of the miracles therein recorded to the other miracles of the Bible; for all miracles are alike easy to the Omnipotent. And there may have been the necessity of precisely this kind of a wonder to convince the stubborn prophet of his duty to obey the heavenly command, and to overcome the hatred which he, in common with his race, shared for other nations. If we were to admit of degrees in miracles, of greater divine power in one than in another, there are certainly some recorded apparently requiring more effort on the part of God than those related in the Book of Jonah. It would be equally impossible for a man to create the lowest worm creeping at our feet as to create a lion or an elephant. But there can be no difficulty of this nature for God. As we look at things it is a greater miracle to preserve a man in the fiery furnace than in the stomach of a fish, and certainly greater than either to call a dead man from the tomb. So, then, if we cannot accept the story of Jonah as purely historical, let us see to it that our objections against it are based on something stronger than the strangeness of the incidents and miracles recorded in his life. And let no one abandon the old view regarding this book without a diligent examination of the objections urged against its historical nature. It is far too common in this age of haste and superficiality to

accept mere theories as positive conclusions, sometimes without any, and often with but little, examination or weighing of the facts involved in the case, when possibly a little earnest study would have brought us from darkness into light.

Without doubt, the story of Jonah as related in the book bearing his name is very strange; nevertheless much of that which at first sight appears marvelous will on closer study disappear. Here, as with most disputed points in biblical criticism, it would require much more faith to believe some of the explanations proposed than to accept, without an if or a but, the literal historical character of the events recorded in the book; for "the great majority of them are clumsy and far-fetched, doing violence to the language and despite to the spirit of revelation; distinguished, too, by tedious adjustments; laborious combinations, historical conjecture, and critical jugglery." *

From what has been said the reader will understand that there are several theories regarding the nature of our book. Some † make it an historical allegory describing the fate of Israel, and more particularly of Josiah and his grandfather, Manasseh, kings of Judah; "Tarshish representing Lydia; the ship, the Jewish republic, whose captain was Zadok, the high-priest; while the casting of Jonah into the sea symbolized the temporary captivity of Manasseh in Babylon." Others, like Bunsen, think that the prayer of Jonah, or rather the thanksgiving hymn (chap. ii), is the only genuine portion of the book. This is taken as an expression of the prophet's gratitude for deliverance from the perils of shipwreck. The remainder of the book is regarded as fictitious, a kind of a frame-work about the psalm of praise. Less,‡ in order to diminish the miraculous as much as possible, insists that Jonah was not swallowed by a real fish, but that, having been thrown overboard, he was picked up by another vessel happening to be near, which had a large fish for a figure-head. Others, again, as Abarbanel (fifteenth century) and Grimm,§ consider the events recorded as a mere dream; the former finding confirmation for this view in the fact that Jonah is said to have slept on the sides of the

* McClintock & Strong's *Cyclopædia*, art. "Jonah."

† Herrmann von der Hardt, *Jonas in Luce*, etc.

‡ *Vermischte Schriften*, vol. i, pp. 161, 162. § *Uebersetzung*, pp. 61, *ff.*

ship. Anton* resorts to a most singular explanation, arguing that Jonah was preserved in a dead fish, which chanced to be floating near the place where the prophet was thrown overboard, and was washed ashore by the waves. Others, again, follow Bishop Jebb,† who thinks that the prophet was preserved not in the belly but in the mouth of a rorqual, or rather in the longitudinal folds of its throat. Jahn‡ and Pareau§ think the book nothing more than a parable, while Blasche‖ and many others are contented to regard it as a vision. There are some, again, like Hitzig,¶ who do not hesitate to declare the whole book a fable and nothing more. Hitzig, as Keil justly remarks, "not only denies every miracle, but mocks at the guidance of a special providence, and ignores the known characteristics of the shark and kikayon."** Other advanced Rationalists, as Gesenius and De Wette,†† have gone so far as to derive the story of Jonah from popular legends, such as the two well-known heathen myths of Hesione and of Perseus and Andromeda. This theory is very justly rejected by Bleek,‡‡ who believes that instead of the Hebrews having borrowed from the Greeks, the reverse must have been true. Winer§§ also, in speaking of these myths, says: "Though the abhorrence of the pre-exile Hebrews for every thing foreign (*Heidnischem*) must not be regarded as great as that of the Jews, yet it is very improbable that a Hebrew writer should have felt himself prompted to put the materials of a Philistine myth into an Israelitic form."

There is also a large and respectable class of theologians who differ in some particulars from some of the above views, regarding the book as didactic in its character, not, however, a pure myth or simple fiction, but having a substratum of historical truth; in other words, a story based upon facts, but highly colored and embellished; written, as we have it now, from oral traditions, centuries, it may be, after the prophet's time. This view has been, and is still, held by the majority of Old Testament scholars on the Continent, and also by some English and

* Rosenmüller, *Prolog. in Jona*, p. 328.
† *Sacred Literature*, p. 178.
‡ *Einleitung*, Band ii, p. 527, *ff.*
§ *Inst. Interpr. Vet. Test.*, p. 534.
‖ *Commentar. ueber d. Hebräer Brief.* ii, p. 756.
¶ *Kleine Propheten*, p. 157.
** *Introd. to Old Test.*, vol. i, pp. 398, 399.
†† *Einleitung in das Alte Test.*, § 236.
‡‡ *Einleitung in das Alte Test.*, p. 577.
§§ *Biblisch. Real Wörterbuch*, art. "Jonas."

American theologians, and is fully stated by Davidson, from whom we abridge as follows:

> It is possible that a true prophetic tradition may lie at the foundation of the book. . . . We believe that Jonah was a real person and a prophet. . . . Most of the historical circumstances he gives are unlike those of real history, and appear to be employed with no other object than a didactic one. Hence we consider the much greater part of the book fictitious.*

In this country as well as in Great Britain, on the other hand, the great majority of biblical students regard the book as a narration of actual history, and even in Germany many of the most learned critics agree with Keil, that "its contents are neither pure fiction, allegory, nor myth; nor yet a prophetic legend wrought up poetically with a moral and didactic aim, embellished into a miraculous story, and mingled with mythical elements; but with all its miracles it is to be taken for a true history of deep prophetico-symbolic and typical significance." †

At this place we may inform the reader that there are some theologians, even in the Methodist Episcopal Church, like Dr. Harman, who do not feel bound to subscribe to the historical nature of the story of Jonah. For Dr. Harman, after stating some of the difficulties in the case, concludes by saying, "The book, with all its historical details, may be as literally true as Kiel supposes, but evangelical Christianity makes no such demand upon our faith. ‡

One thing is very clear; all the various theories above enumerated, as well as many others, just as diverging, not touched upon, have been occasioned by the miraculous account of Jonah's deliverance by the means of a fish. This is the rock upon which expositors split; for while the most evangelical have no difficulty, generally, in accepting the historic origin of the book, we find that the most ardent advocates of the mythical and fictitious theories are those who disclaim the possibility of any or of all miracles. And those who are unable to regard the events recorded in the book in the light of actual history advance very much the same objections, which may be grouped

* *Introduction to the Old Testament*, vol. iii, pp. 279, 280.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 395.

‡ *Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures*, pp. 400, 401.

together, and for convenience' sake divided into four classes, as follows:

1. The improbability of Jehovah sending his prophet to preach to the Ninevites.

2. The improbability of a prophet of Jehovah acting as Jonah is said to have done.

3. The improbability of Jonah's deliverance from the storm in the manner described.

4. The improbability of the people of Nineveh repenting, in so short a time, at the preaching of a foreigner.

These are the principal objections urged against the historical character of the book. Let us examine each of them, and see whether they are as conclusive or formidable as some of their advocates regard them.

1. *The improbability of Jehovah sending his prophet to preach to the Ninevites.*—We have read the Bible carelessly unless we have observed that revelation was gradual, or progressive, and that God had a chosen people, a separate race, to whom he communicated his truth in an especial manner ages before he did to other nations. Though "God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him," yet the fact is patent that the Jews were for centuries a separate race, peculiar to the Lord, and that the conversion of the heathen, according to the Hebrew prophets, was not to take place till the advent of the Messiah. The Hebrews, however, were not at any period of their history entirely separated from other people. They were never an absolutely pure race, for even when they left Egypt "a mixed multitude went up also with them." Exod. xii, 38. And then, as at every stage of their history, strangers could, by conforming with certain ceremonies, be received into the congregation. Exod. xii, 48; Gen. xxxiv, 14; Josh. viii, 33; Josephus, *Ant.*, xiii, 9, 3. The account of the Kenites, so conspicuous in Hebrew history, as well as that of the Gibeonites, are familiar examples of strangers or foreigners uniting themselves to the people of Israel. The names of Doeg the Edomite, of Araunah the Jebusite, and many others, show most clearly that any foreigner, on certain conditions, could be received into the congregation of Israel. But the sending of a prophet by Jehovah on a mission like that of Jonah to

the Ninevites is a very different matter, and stands alone in Old Testament history. The missions of Joseph and Moses to Egypt, of Elisha to Syria, or of Daniel in Babylon, are no analogies, though urged as such by no less distinguished and devoted a scholar than the late Dr. Pusey.* The Old Testament does not afford another instance of a Hebrew prophet, divinely commissioned, who was requested to leave Israel in order to offer salvation or preach repentance to a foreign nation. The words of Dean Stanley on this subject are apposite:

> Jonah is the first apostle, though involuntary and unconscious, of the Gentiles. The inspiration of the Gentile world is acknowledged in the prophecy of Balaam, its nobleness in the Book of Job, its greatness in the reign of Solomon, but its distinct claims on the mercy and justice of God are first recognized in the Book of Jonah.†

It is certainly surprising that there are scholars of some repute who do not readily concede the above. If Dr. Pusey's position, already referred to, be untenable, how much more the following, from a modern writer. In commenting upon Jonah's mission to Nineveh we find these wonderful sentences:

> Another funny item of traditional interpretation is that which makes Jonah to have been the first foreign missionary. This perhaps would be a harmless fancy were it not for its ignoring the important truth that the religion of Jehovah, as described in the Old Testament, was a missionary religion from the beginning. To represent Jonah's preaching to Nineveh as a new departure in this direction is to make a representation which may be hurtfully misleading.‡

Until the learned professor offers some proof for his bold assertion we must consider his statement, if not "hurtfully misleading," certainly "a harmless fancy." For, to my mind, this apparent anachronism in the history of revelation, this premature mission of the prophet Jonah, is the strongest argument that can be urged against the historical character of the book bearing his name.

Does it help matters to call it a myth or a fiction? What is objected to is, that the sending of Jonah to Nineveh was too early by several centuries, and not in accordance with the historical development traceable in the plan of revelation.

* *Com. on Jonah*, Introd., p. 372, Funk & Wagnall's ed. † *Jewish Church.*

‡ Professor W. J. Beecher, D.D., in the *Old Testament Student*, Nov., 1885.

But why should we find more advanced ideas in regard to God's dealings with the Gentiles in a work of fiction than in actual history? No reason can be assigned for that, for the fictitious theory is no less improbable than the historical; therefore this apparent anachronism in the plan of revelation must be explained in some other way. There is also some danger of carrying this point too far. Though the spirit of particularism was deeply rooted in the Hebrews, though they sought but little intercourse with other nations, and though several tribes of the accursed Canaanites as well as the Ammonites and Moabites were excluded, yet, as Oehler remarks, "Even from the stand-point of Mosaism the theocratic exclusiveness was not absolutely exclusive."* And, finally, is it not possible that this departure of Jehovah from his ordinary ways was done partially to spur on and to condemn the Hebrews for their hard-heartedness and obstinate perverseness in their rebellion against God, and to teach them a lesson of repentance from the prompt action of these heathen people?

2. *The improbability of a prophet of Jehovah acting as Jonah is said to have acted.*—This is another of the staple objections urged against the historical character of the book. It is not as weighty as the preceding, and its triviality will become manifest upon a little reflection upon human nature in general, not only in Jonah's time, but down the ages to the present. Both sacred and profane history will furnish us plenty of parallels. One great hinderance to a correct interpretation of the sacred volume, and not at all uncommon, especially among certain classes of readers, is to regard Old Testament or Bible characters as something superhuman, incapable, almost, of disobedience or other forms of sin. How much valuable time has been spent needlessly in exonerating these old worthies and justifying certain of their actions! So there have been those who cannot accept this real Jonah. But if they stumble at the Jonah of history, how much more ought they at the Jonah of fiction. History must give facts, fiction may conceal all faults. But, after all, Jonah is not so much worse than other men. Moses was not exceedingly anxious to return to Egypt, even though it was to deliver his own people from their oppressive bondage. And did not the great Elijah shudder at the thought of meeting the dia-

* *Old Testament Theology*, §§ 82, 83.

bolical Jezebel? Why, then, should it be considered a strange thing that Jonah should, at first, refuse to go to wicked and heathen Nineveh? The mission of Moses was to deliver Israelites; that of Elijah to reclaim the chosen people of Jehovah, his brethren according to the flesh; but Jonah was commanded to go to preach repentance to a heathen people, the natural enemies of his own beloved Israel. When we remember that Jonah was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, a nation taught and commanded in the law not to have intimate relations with the surrounding nations, it is not marvelous that he should not have heeded the first summons. His mental struggle must have been severe. He must have soliloquized something after this manner:* 'Am I really commanded to depart on such an errand of mercy to this despised people? Do I indeed hear the voice of Jehovah in this call? I, Jonah, a prophet of the living God, commissioned to preach to the rapacious and violent inhabitants of Nineveh, that corrupt and powerful city of the north-east, the natural enemy of my dear native land! Have I not foretold the restoration of a part of Israel?† How then can I do any thing to prevent the downfall of our enemy? Has not the prophet Hosea ‡ prophesied that "my people shall not dwell in the Lord's land, but that they shall eat unclean things in Assyria?' I preach to such a people! Have we not been taught in our sacred books to keep aloof from other nations? And again, supposing I could reach the great city, and succeed in arresting their attention long enough for them to consider their evil ways, and feel repentant for their violence:—O, Jehovah, thou art a gracious God, so full of compassion, thou wilt forgive them: thus not only my preaching would prove false, but thy most holy name would be disgraced and dishonored by my false prophecy."

When we stop to consider that some thoughts like the above must have passed through the prophet's mind, we are no longer surprised at his actions. His conduct is far from being without a parallel. Do we not find a similarity between Jonah and ourselves in this regard? God has commanded men in every age, but only to be disobeyed. He commands men today to one thing, and, alas! we not only disobey, but do the exact

* We doubt whether Jonah thus soliloquized.—EDITOR.

† 2 Kings xiv, 25. ‡ Hosea ix, 3.

contrary. Jonah was asked to go east, but he turned around and went due west. So have we also under slightly modified circumstances.

3. *The improbability of Jonah being delivered from the storm in the manner described.*—There are other miracles in the book, besides the one whereby he was rescued from the sea, to which objections have been urged. But beyond controversy the story of the great fish is the stumbling-block of the book. The story in itself has nothing incredible about it. It is the singularity of the miracle that has occasioned such a variety of interpretation; and much of the discussion has arisen through a mistake in our English version, which makes our Saviour say in the gospels that Jonah was swallowed by *a whale*. The Greek word used is κῆτος, which does not necessarily mean whale, but according to the best lexicographers may be translated any sea-monster or huge fish, as a seal, sea-calf, shark, tunny, or whale. The new version, with its usual conservatism, retains the word whale in the text, but has sea-monster in the margin. We may emphasize the fact that the word whale is not found at all either in the Hebrew or English version of the Book of Jonah, but simply דג גדל, or great fish. Thus we are no longer required to demonstrate that the gullet of a whale is large enough to admit the body of a man, or that there are, or have been, at any time, whales in the Mediterranean Sea. Nevertheless, in order to show how reckless and unscientific some skeptical writers are, we ought to say at this point that as distinguished an authority as Thomas Beale observes, in speaking of the spermaceti whale, that "the throat is capacious enough to give passage to the body of a man, presenting a strong contrast to the contracted gullet of the Greenland whale."* We may also call attention to the rorqual, that is, whale with folds, found in the Mediterranean, and may add that Cuvier designates this species by the name *Rorqual Mediterranensis*.† But though there are whales large enough to swallow a man, yet it is a fact that they generally live on small animals, such as the medusa and crustacea.

We may also state that there is now a general agreement among commentators that the word κῆτος ought not to be

* *Observations on the Nat. Hist. of the Spermaceti Whale*, p. 294. London, 1839.

† See Règne *Animal*, vol. i, p. 342.

translated *whale*, but that it should be rendered a great fish, as in the Old Testament. Most probably it was a shark. The white shark (*carcharias vulgaris*) is very voracious, and large enough not only to swallow a man but much larger animals. These are also quite common in all seas. The German natural historian Müller* gives an instance, which is quoted and indorsed by the two great theologians, Drs. Pusey† and Keil,‡ of a sailor during a storm falling from a ship into the Mediterranean Sea, who was swallowed by a shark. A gun was immediately discharged at the fish; upon being struck it spewed out the sailor alive. The fish was caught, dried, and presented to the sailor, who afterward went around Europe exhibiting it. Dr. Pusey, in his *Commentary on Jonah*, devotes much space to the discussion of this question, giving many instances of sharks swallowing different large animals. Blumenbach§ claims that there have been sharks of the enormous weight of ten thousand pounds, and that even "horses have been found whole in their stomachs." Ruysch‖ mentions one case where the complete body of a man in armor was found in a shark. Dr. Baird,¶ of the British Museum, was himself an eye-witness to a shark in the Hooghly, not far from Calcutta, "swallowing a bullock's head and horns entire."

There is another fact well known to students of natural history, mentioned by Dr. Smith, worthy the attention of the reader, inasmuch as it bears directly upon the question, namely, that sharks very often throw up again, whole and alive, the prey they have swallowed.** The following from Mr. Darwin ought to be of weight. Says he: "I have heard from Dr. Allen of Forres that he has frequently found a diodon floating alive and distended in the stomach of a shark."

4. *The improbability of the Ninevites repenting in so short a time at the preaching of a foreigner.*—This is the greatest miracle of the book. Dr. Pusey is right in emphasizing this point, and in saying that it is "unexampled in the whole revelation of God." Call it conversion or repentance, as you please,

* *Vollstandige Natursystem des Ritters Karl von Linné*, Thom. iii, p. 268.
† *Commentary on Jonah*, Introd., p. 385.
‡ *Biblischer Commentar ueber die Zwölf Kl. Propheten*, p. 285.
§ *Naturgeschichte von Squalus, Carcharias.* ‖ Smith's *Bible Dict.*, art. "Whale."
¶ *Cyclopedia of Natural Sciences*, p. 514. ** Couch's *History of Fishes*, p. 33.

it stands a most prominent monument of God's power and mercy. In comparison with it the conversion of three thousand on the day of Pentecost was insignificant, and the physical miracles recorded in Jonah sink into almost nothingness. In our days, when these physical miracles have been thoroughly investigated, and made to appear most probable, it is not surprising that sceptics have changed their tactics and leveled their guns at the crowning miracle of the book. They cannot believe this stupendous miracle, hence the effort to take it out from the sphere of actual history and call it fiction. We must not forget that both in repentance and conversion, whether of an individual or a multitude, the work is not human but divine.

It is very possible, though we have no direct evidence to that effect, that a report of Jonah's miraculous deliverance might have preceded him into Nineveh. Be that as it may, it is more than probable that the prophet himself, on reaching that city, would have spoken of it. If that were so, it must have produced a sensation. We ought to make one fact prominent, namely, the difference between the inhabitants of an Oriental city like Nineveh, 700 or 800 B. C., and the people of a large city like New York, Chicago, or Boston in our time. And as Layard says:

> So prone is Oriental nature to extremes, the king might believe him [Jonah] to be a special minister from the supreme deity of the nation, [for it was only] when the gods themselves seemed to interpose that any check was placed on the royal pride and lust. . . . It was not necessary to the effect of his preaching that Jonah should be of the religion of the people of Nineveh. I have known a Christian priest to frighten a whole Mussulman town to tents and repentance by publicly proclaiming that he had received a divine mission to announce a coming earthquake or a plague.*

Compare again the words of Darius:

> Then Darius the king wrote to all the people, nations, and tongues, who dwelt in all the earth. May your peace be multiplied! By me is a decree established that in every principality of my kingdom [men] shall tremble and fear before the God of Daniel, for he is the living God and endureth forever, and his kingdom shall not be destroyed, and his dominion shall be unto the end.†

* *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 632. † Daniel vi, 26, 27.

These are not parallels to the account in Jonah, but they do furnish a proof of the power of an Oriental monarch. The history of Israel offers many examples of the extreme fickleness of Oriental minds. How vacillating, how changeable! Only a few months after the miracles of Egypt, the Red Sea, and the Wilderness, the golden calf was formed at the very foot of Sinai, even while the great law-giver was communing with God! How wonderfully swayed were the people by the lonely prophet on Carmel in spite of Jezebel and all court influence! How did the people throng after John the Baptist and repent at his preaching! How easy it was for the multitude in less than one short week to change its hosannas in honor of Jesus into "Crucify him! Crucify him!"

The scanty references we have in the Bible to the city of Nineveh warrant us in concluding that it was a very wicked and corrupt place, and that its principal sins were violence and rapacity. Nahum (ii, 11, 12, iii, 1) compares it to the dwelling-places of the hungry, ravenous, food-providing lions. "Woe," says he, "to the bloody city! it is full of lies and robbery." It is easier to work upon the feelings of a tyrant and move him to pity than to move other classes of sinners to repentance. In the hour of danger or death, the recollection of having wronged a fellow-being is more powerful than that of having sinned against one's self. See this weird-looking prophet, naturally hostile to the Assyrians, filled with the memory of his recent miraculous deliverance from the very belly of sheol, forced, as it were, to deliver his awful message; see him traversing the streets of the city; listen to his short but terrible sermon: "Yet forty days and Nineveh (shall be) overthrown." What marvel that these people were terrified, confounded, and thrown into a panic? The king and his princes, the most violent and tyrannical of all, share in the general consternation. A fast is proclaimed, and universal penitence ensues. And now, the heart and conscience of the king having been touched, how natural it would be for the whole city to repent.

Those who do not accept the book as pure history think that they have some justification for their conclusions inasmuch as this great event is not corroborated by any other prophet or Old Testament writer, nor is there any reference to it upon the Assyrian monuments. As to the monuments,

we know not what a day may bring forth; a tablet or some inscription corroborating the Scripture account of this great miracle may yet be discovered. But should there not, what of that? The Assyrians were not given to record religious matters upon their monuments. Wars, triumphs, and conquests figure upon these. And as to other Scriptures, there are those, like Hävernick,* who see a clear reference to Jonah's mission in Ezek. iii, 5, 6, where the prophet is told, "For thou art not sent to a people of a strange speech and of a hard language, whose words thou canst not understand, but to the house of Israel." But granting that there is not a singler eference to Jonah elsewhere in the Old Testament nor upon the monuments, that proves nothing, for precisely the same objection might be urged against some of the best-known miracles of our Saviour, such as the raising of the widow's son at Nain and of Lazarus at Bethany.

Among other minor objections we might mention a few more which are urged by Davidson.† He would like something "more definite—circumstantial details—than what is given in the book." He would like to know the very spot where Jonah was "vomited forth" by the fish; how the city was to be destroyed; what became of Jonah after his preaching at Nineveh; not only what was the name of the king, but also something about his person and character. What a pity that the author did not tell the exact place, the very hour and day of the month, the name of Jonah's next circuit or station, and various other particulars! As to the king's name, it is barely possible that the prophet did not know it; for the word king would be then, as now, quite as definite as if the very name was given. Are there not many educated Americans in our day who cannot give the names of the five leading monarchs of Europe, to say nothing of the rulers of Asia? What is the name of the Prince of Wales or of the Sultan of Turkey? I have been asked, "Did you see the queen when in London, or the emperor while in Berlin?" How much more definite would it be to ask, "Did you see Queen Victoria or Kaiser Wilhelm?"

Others, again, cannot easily conceive the possibility of Jonah composing the psalm contained in the second chapter of the

* *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 344. † *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 274.

book. The art and eloquence in that beautiful song of thanksgiving are, they claim, such as to render its composition in the manner and under the circumstances described highly improbable. But those of us who can believe that Jonah was preserved three days in the bowels of the fish will have no difficulty in regard to this psalm.

What are the chief arguments in favor of accepting the book as purely historical?

The ancient Jews entertained no doubts on this point. Its position among the other prophetical books is an evidence of this fact. Reindl asks very appropriately: "Had the collector of the canon not believed in the historical truth of this fact—had he beheld only religious truth in the garb of the allegory or fable in this book—why did he not place it among the Hagiographa?" * There are several references to Jonah in the non-canonical Jewish writers; and they always speak of him as if he was a real person. We have two or three references in the Apocrypha, as follows: "Go unto Media, my son, for I surely believe those things which Jonas the prophet spoke of Nineveh. . . . And now, my son, depart out of Nineveh, because those things which the prophet spoke shall surely come to pass." † And again: "When Jonah was pining away in the belly of the sea-bred monster, thou didst look upon him, O Father, and recover him to the sight of his own." ‡ Jonathan ben Uzziel, in his targum on Nahum i, 1, written about the time of Christ, says that Jonah the son of Amittai prophesied against Nineveh. Fürst says that the Book of Jonah was considered historical by the Talmudists. § Josephus ‖ also incorporates the book almost verbatim in his writings, evidently cherishing no doubts as to its historic truth. Both Jewish and Christian writers, down to a comparatively recent date, have viewed the book in the same light. The opinions of church fathers, the early Christian writers, or of the ancient Jewish writers, do not necessarily establish the historical character of the book; nevertheless, until confuted, they are worthy of some consideration.

Its historical character is, again, made probable by the straightforward and matter-of-fact style in which the book is written;

* *Die Sendung des Propheten nach Nineveh.* † Tobit xiv, 4, 8.
‡ 3 Maccabees vi, 8. § *Ueber den Kanon*, p. 33. ‖ *Ant.*, ix, 10, 2.

or, as Keil puts it, "by the psychologically truthful delineation of the perversity of the prophet as well as of the other persons, the mariners and the Ninevites."* The hero of the book, though an Israelite, is described in no flattering terms; his narrow-mindedness and lack of charity are painted in dismal colors; there is no effort at concealment or palliation; on the other hand, his disobedience and revengeful spirit are made prominent. Jonah, though a prophet of Jehovah, appears at a disadvantage when compared with the heathen sailors or the wicked Ninevites. If the book were a mere fiction, what reason could be assigned for a Hebrew author to place the hero of the story in such an ignoble position? For it is evident to the most careless reader that the writer ascribes to these heathen sailors a nobility of character superior to that of Jonah, and to the idolatrous inhabitants of Nineveh a readiness to accept the word of Jehovah and repent which a Hebrew would hesitate to attribute to any people outside the pale of Israel.

Again, if this be a mere fiction without any historical basis, why is the Prophet Jonah selected? Why make this historical character play so contemptible a role? For those who favor the allegorical, mythical, or fictitious interpretation do not attempt to deny that the Jonah of our book is not the same as the prophet of that name in 2 Kings xiv, 25. This point is so generally conceded as to require no discussion. It may be added that the names Jonah and Amittai are found nowhere else in the Old Testament, except in the two books already referred to. Taking it, then, for granted that our Jonah is the same as the Jonah of the time of Jeroboam,

We deem it altogether improbable that any Hebrew writer could have the audacity to portray a prophet of Jehovah as being so full of "bitterness and meanness" in a pure work of fiction. Such a proceeding is worthy only of the journalist of our own period. Besides, what gain could there have been in that selection? and how easy it would have been to have invented a name for the occasion, or to designate the hero simply as a prophet or a man of God.

Another reason often assigned in favor of the fictitious origin of the book is, that the noble and elevated thoughts

* *Introduction to the Old Testament*, vol. i, p. 397.

therein contained regarding the salvation of the heathen city are so far in advance of the contracted ideas of the Israelites as to make them historically impossible. But if the book is inspired it is God who commands. And how much easier to conceive of the Lord endeavoring to enlarge the cramped ideas of the Hebrews regarding his dealings with Nineveh and his love for the heathen nations by a direct appeal to one of his prophets in the very manner recorded—viewing all the transactions as purely historical—than to fancy that these lofty ideas should originate with some unknown person, so far in advance of his age and people as to necessitate the clothing of his elevated and enlarged views of the divine goodness and mercy in the garb of fiction. But are there not those who will believe any interpretation, no matter how absurd or incredible, rather than accept the plain, simple facts recorded in the holy Scriptures?

Not until all other solutions have failed should we regard the story of Jonah as fiction. And we must not forget that a purely fictitious composition is uncommon in the Old Testament, and contrary to the genius of Hebrew literature.

See again the simplicity with which the particulars are given. There is certainly no effort at the sensational or dramatic—a mere narration of events. Several of these allusions are fully corroborated both by sacred and profane writers. For instance, the people of Nineveh are said to be unbearably wicked (i, 2; iii, 8). Compare Nahum ii, 8; iii, 1, *ff.* Nineveh, according to the Book of Jonah, is "a great city," "exceedingly great," or, more literally, "great even to God;" not only great in man's eyes, but also in the sight of God. It is a city of three days' journey, "wherein are more than six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand;" evidently referring to children under the age of responsibility. This is not the place to enter minutely into this subject—to attempt to determine the exact dimensions of the city or the probable number of its inhabitants. We simply wish to state that its great size is fully corroborated by profane historians. "Traditions of the unrivaled size and magnificence of Nineveh were equally familiar to the Greek and Roman writers and to the Arab geographers." * Diodorus Siculus

* McClintock & Strong's Cyclopædia, art. "Nineveh."

says that this city formed a quadrangle 150 by 90 stadia (sixty miles), surrounded by a wall 100 feet high, broad enough for three chariots to drive abreast upon. Strabo claims that it was larger than Babylon.

Take again the peculiar custom — I think not elsewhere mentioned in the Bible — in which animals are made to share in the general mourning: "Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing, but let man and beast be covered with sackcloth" (iii, 7, 8). There may not be an exact parallel in profane history, yet we must call attention to an incident recorded in Herodotus (ix, 24). He says: "When the horse reached the camp the whole army, and Mardonius, most of all, mourned the loss of Masistius, cutting off their own hair and that of their horses and beasts of burden, giving themselves to unbounded lamentation." Plutarch also, in speaking of the death of Pelopidas, tells how the Thessalians mourned for him, and, among other things, that "they cut off their horses' manes as well as their own hair." *

And again, on the very next page, we read the following: "Alexander the Great, at the death of Hephæstion, not only cut off the manes of his horses and his mules," etc. Take one more example from Euripides, which bears upon the same subject: "And all the Thessalians over whom I reign I enjoin to share in the grief for this lady. . . . Harness your teams of horses to your chariots, and cut from your single steeds the manes that fall upon their necks." † The pomp and show displayed on the trappings or external decorations of horses, camels, and elephants are well known to those at all familiar with Oriental customs. But why should we look back the ages or travel to the distant Orient? Do we not, in seasons of grief and mourning, drape not only animals, but also houses, carriages, and locomotives? And who has not seen horses covered with black cloth at funerals?

But, finally, to us who believe in the inspiration of the Bible, the reference of our Lord to the preaching and deliverance of Jonah ought to be conclusive. His words are plain: "For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale [margin, sea-monster], so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. The

* *Plutarch's Lives*, Pelopidas. † *Alcestes*, line 429.

men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold a greater than Jonah is here." Matt. xii, 41, 42. Here it is clearly affirmed that Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and nights, and that the people of Nineveh repented at his preaching. It is in vain to assert, as Davidson, that "it was no part of Christ's mission on earth to teach criticism or to correct erroneous opinions held by the Jews regarding their own Scriptures." * Even were we to regard our Lord's reference to Jonah and the monster as an acquiescence on his part in the current belief of the Jews without accepting or setting the seal of his approval upon it, as we, by way of illustration, often refer to mythological or poetical characters, ancient or modern, it would indeed require some imagination and a very loose method of interpretation to believe that these imaginary Ninevites will arise in judgment to condemn the contemporaries of our blessed Lord. This point is well stated by Archdeacon Perowne, who says:

> Is it possible to understand a reference like this on the non-historic theory of the Book of Jonah? The future judge is speaking words of solemn warning to those who shall hereafter stand convicted at his bar. Intensely real he would make the scene in anticipation to them, as it was real, as if then present to himself. And yet we are to suppose him to say that imaginary persons, who at the imaginary preaching of an imaginary prophet repented in imagination, shall rise up in that day and condemn the actual impenitence of those his actual hearers; that the fictitious characters of a parable shall be arraigned at the same bar with the living men of that generation. †

W. W. Davies.

* *Introduction to the Old Testament*, vol. iii, p. 270.

† *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, Introd., p. 15.

Art. III.—IDEALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

A DREAD of the materialistic philosophy of the present day has inclined many Christian thinkers to look to some phase of idealism as more in harmony with the principles of Christianity. As a reaction from gross, earthly materialism, this tendency of Christian thought is very natural, and it is not strange that many have passed over to the very opposite extreme. It is legitimate to inquire whether Christianity has any thing to gain from an alliance with idealistic philosophy.

It is no easy matter to give a precise definition of Idealism, since the system of philosophy that bears this name has taken on a multitude of phases which, nevertheless, have somewhat in common. Webster defines Idealism as

> 1. The system or theory that makes every thing to consist in ideas, and denies the existence of material bodies. 2. The doctrine or theory that teaches that we have no rational grounds to believe in the reality of any thing but ideas and their relations.

Worcester's definition is not so radical. He pronounces it:

> The doctrine that in external perceptions the objects immediately known are ideas; opposed to Realism. It has been held under various forms, particularly under that which denies the existence of matter, and makes every thing consist in mind, with its different states and ideas.

These definitions are not altogether satisfactory, since they take no account of the different meanings that have attached to the word *idea*. Without aiming at precise and comprehensive analysis, it may be said that Idealism is the philosophy which, starting with doubts respecting the reality of matter, tends to annihilate all material substance and all personality, and to resolve all things into ideas. Some expounders of this philosophy have stopped at one station on the road and some at another, while others have pushed relentlessly on to the ultimate goal.

Philosophical speculations in recent times have been rather sharply drawn along two lines, the one materialistic the other idealistic. The former gives special emphasis to matter, and strongly tends to reduce every thing to matter—God and man are lost in the material universe. The latter denies the reality

of material things and magnifies the supremacy of mind, often losing sight of personality, and leaving nothing but thought or idea as the ultimate reality.

The tendency of both these systems is toward pantheism—if, indeed, they stop short of atheism when pushed to their logical conclusions. Pantheism is the theory that the sum of all things constitutes God, and it may be broadly divided into materialistic and idealistic phases. The materialistic form of statement is, that the universe is God; the idealistic phrase is, that God is the universe. Materialism wipes out the great supreme Spirit, and resolves every thing into the universe; Idealism expunges the universe and leaves only the supreme personal Spirit. In each case God is the only reality, whether he be regarded as a personal spirit or a diversified universe.

Materialistic pantheism is only another name for atheism. The material universe is every thing; the supreme mind, as well as finite minds, are merely attributes of matter. Idealism promptly tends to a spiritualistic pantheism, which denies the reality of every thing but God; nor does it stop here, but drifts on to an atheism which rejects the reality of personal spirit, and leaves only abstract ideas.

It is not the purpose of this paper to give an extended account of the speculations of Idealism, but to call attention to some of its more prominent phases, and raise the inquiry whether Christianity is likely to derive any benefit from the system.

Idealistic notions seem to have first appeared in the philosophy of Pythagoras, his doctrine that number is the essence of all things containing the germ of the system. Numbers were regarded, not as attaching to real things, but as being themselves the only reality, while the so-called real things are but pictures of the numbers. The Eleatics, and especially Parmenides, carried the notion much further, and "sacrificed to their principle of pure Being the existence of the world and every finite existence." The Sophists, likewise, entertained idealistic conceptions, Protagoras going so far as to occupy the ground of the extreme subjective Idealism of modern times.

Plato, however, has commonly been regarded as the father of Idealism, his "doctrine of ideas" establishing a permanent philosophical current in this direction. In discussing his

theory he seems constantly inclined to deny all reality to matter, but is as often confronted with the form of things, and the result of his speculations is confusion and contradiction. His tendency undoubtedly was, to find the reality of a thing in its idea, and to construe the sensible form as merely appearance. The theory of Plato was an attempt to allay the absurdities and contradictions that gather about the Eleatic principle of the non-existence of matter, and in substance is, that every concrete thing has a perfect idea behind it after which it is modeled. The perfect idea is real, but he could not make up his mind whether or not the imperfect concrete thing has a real existence. He at least raised a doubt respecting the reality of the material, and that doubt has floated down the stream of philosophical thought to the present time.

Neo-Platonism revived the idealistic notions of the Platonic philosophy, emphasizing the idea of the transcendence of Deity, and laying a basis for the philosophy of scholasticism. During the scholastic period philosophy was compelled by external pressure to conform to theology. If any rash speculator was led by his logic to traverse any doctrine of the Church the hand of authority was quickly laid upon him. Cramped as it was by its subserviency to the Church, the scholastic philosophy, nevertheless, shows a decided leaning toward idealistic pantheism. Johannes Scotus, the founder of this strange system of religious philosophy, at once attempted an accommodation between the conceptions of Neo-Platonism and the doctrines of Christianity. Creation was explained as a series of emanations from Deity—flashes of light from the great central sun. God alone possesses substance—concrete things are but emanations from him. The material universe and finite beings spring forth from Deity like jets of hydrogen gas from the sun, only to return again to their source. The Church put the seal of condemnation on such teaching.

In ancient philosophy Idealism was not developed into a system, but in modern times it has taken on more systematic form, and assumed greater prominence. Modern philosophy begins its career with the extreme dualism of Descartes. Mind and matter stand over against each other so distinct that no relations and interactions are possible. But philosophy could not give up the search for these relations, and so the problem has been

revived, and solutions sought by magnifying one or the other of the factors. Malebranche at once proclaimed his theory that all things exist in God. Material things have only an ideal existence, and minds have their place in Deity. Leibnitz, in his doctrine of monads, hovers between an affirmation and a denial of the reality of matter. The monads are the real substances, while material things are but phenomena. His definition of monads is obscure, and not easily grasped. They are not the material atoms of former philosophers, nor are they living souls in which material phenomena inhere. Neither matter nor spirit, they are a cloudy something between the two—metaphysical points, centers of activity, mirrors of the universe. This utter vagueness of conception results from an attempt to cut loose from a belief in the substantial reality of material things and at the same time hold to something objective. The material universe stands over against the human mind as something to be explained. If its reality be denied the appearance is yet to be interpreted, and the doctrine of monads was an attempt to construe the phenomenal world. He found place in his system for finite spirits, which are living monads, and for God, who is the primitive substance and source of all things. It has been claimed, however, that the existence of a personal God is inconsistent with monadology. Schwegler says:

> It was for Leibnitz a very difficult problem to bring his Monadology and his Theism into harmony with each other, without giving up the premises of both. If he held fast to the substantiality of the monads, he was in danger of making them independent of the Deity; if he did not, he could hardly escape falling back into Spinozism.*

Kant, in his *Critick of Pure Reason*, attempts to demonstrate the impossibility of a knowledge of any objective reality. The "thing-in-itself" of the material universe must forever remain unknown; human knowledge is necessarily limited to phenomena. Carrying his principle further, he asserted that psychology has to do only with mental phenomena; the existence of mind, the immortality of the soul, are beyond the reach of human knowledge. It was necessary to take one step further, and deny the possibility of any knowledge of the exist-

* Schwegler, *History of Philosophy*, p. 217.

ence of God. He gave the weight of his great intellect to break down the validity of the usual arguments on which Theism rests, and rendered respecting the existence of matter, finite spirits, and God, the unsatisfactory verdict "Not proven." In a later work on the *Practical Reason* the great philosopher aimed, in some measure, to restore what he had previously destroyed. A belief in the existence of God and finite spirits is allowed to stand, on the insufficient ground that it cannot be disproved, and is necessary as a vindication of morality. Thus theoretically he denies the existence of minds, finite and infinite, while practically he accepts it. The theoretical reason denies what the practical reason affirms. The mind is divided into faculties which are at war with each other, and bring conflicting reports respecting the reality of things. It is the prevailing opinion that the two sides of the Kantian philosophy cannot be made to harmonize, and subsequent speculations have tended to emphasize the irreconcilability.

The theories of idealism have tended to range themselves along two lines—subjective and objective. Subjective Idealism emphasizes the thinking subject, and inclines to evolve every thing from the human consciousness. On the other hand, objective Idealism, while also emphasizing the ego, at the same time recognizes something objective—although the object is far from being what it seems to be.

Bishop Berkeley has commonly been regarded as a subjective Idealist. He taught that we have no grounds for belief in the reality of the material universe. The things we see about us are only phenomena, but whether these phenomena have their grounds in the human mind or the divine he does not so clearly unfold. He has been generally interpreted, however, as holding that the universe is the creation of the human mind. And, after all, the difference between objective and subjective Idealism is not so important as many suppose. If matter be construed as merely phenomena, it is not of great consequence how the phenomena are interpreted. Both systems in the hands of fearless speculators have been pushed boldly on to Atheism. In either case the foundations of our knowledge of the material universe are broken down, and this is the beginning of a serious mischief. Bishop Berkeley deliberately set about shaking the faith of mankind in what they see

and hear about them, without discovering the grave consequences that must inevitably follow. And this attempt was made in the interests of religion. He considered a gross materialism the greatest danger threatening the Church, and tried to counteract it by the radical method of denying the existence of all material things. If matter could only be disposed of materialism must fall, and spirit alone remain. Thus the obstacles in the way of theism and a general acceptance of Christianity would be removed. But when philosophical speculations once begin to destroy the validity of human knowledge there is no established limit to the process, and the only logical stopping place seems to be an absolute agnosticism. Hume carried the principle further, and by the same species of reasoning landed himself in universal skepticism.

Having denied the conception of substance, Hume was led also to deny that of the ego, or self. If the ego, or self, really exists, it must be a substance possessing inherent qualities. But since our conception of substance is purely subjective, without objective reality, it follows that there is no correspondent reality to our conception of the self or the ego.*

By a similar process he was led to deny the existence of God.

Subjective Idealism is perhaps best represented by the theories of Fichte during the earlier part of his career. According to his system all things are evolved from the consciousness of the ego. Things exist only in the thinking subject. If a man enters a room and finds a table there, the table came with the man, and will depart with him. When the man is not in the room there is no table there. The table is in the man's eye. As the opposite pole of objective Idealism, subjective Idealism draws forth the universe not from the Absolute, but from the human ego. It has been said, not altogether inaptly or unjustly, that under this system of philosophy, instead of God's creating man man creates God, as well as the material universe. The tendency ever is for God and matter to vanish, and leave man alone in his glory. Very naturally, Fichte found no place for a personal God. The only God he discovered was the moral order of the universe.

The living and operative moral order is itself God; we need no other God, and can comprehend no other. There is no ground

* Schwegler, *History of Philosophy*, p. 200.

in reason for going outside of the moral order and assuming, as the result of an inference from the caused to its cause, the existence of a particular being as the cause of that order. . . . To him who will reflect for an instant, and frankly confess to himself the result of his reflection, it cannot be less certain that the conception of God as a particular substance is impossible and contradictory, and it is lawful to say this plainly, and to put down the prating of the schools, in order that the true religion, which consists in joyously doing right, may come to honor.*

The great subjectivist was reprimanded and dismissed from his place in the university for teaching atheism, and yet he considered his system of philosophy harmonious with the principles of Christianity. To common-sense thinkers it seems to undermine all religion, and relegate man to a worship of and a responsibility to himself. No one dreams to-day that Christianity can have any alliance with subjective Idealism.

Starting with the Fichtean subjective Idealism, Schelling, through many transitions, passed over to an objective Idealism, founded on a system of identity. Matter and spirit, object and subject, are one in the Absolute. He mediates their differences in himself. The ideal and the real unite in God and find their solution in him. The objection was at once raised that his theory must terminate in pantheism and atheism, but Schelling endeavored to defend himself from these charges. He professed belief in a personal God, but found no grounds for the incarnation, and regarded the Bible as the great hinderance to the development of the true system of religion. He considered some of the ethnic religions superior to Christianity, and looked for the coming of a higher form of religious thought in which philosophy should play a conspicuous part.

A half century or more ago the idealism of Hegel was heralded as a philosophical system in which all the doctrines of Christianity could find a resting place. The trinity, the atonement, and all the articles of the catechism were to have a philosophical vindication. The philosophy of Hegel has for its starting-point the doctrine of Schelling, that subject and object are identical, and consequently is called subjective-objective, or absolute idealism.

According to this system finite things are not (as in the system of subjective idealism) simply phenomena for us, existing only in

*Fichte, quoted in Ueberweg's *Hist. Phil.*, vol. ii, p. 210.

our consciousness, but are phenomena *per se*, by their very nature —that is, things having the ground of their being not in themselves, but in the universal divine idea.*

The "universal divine idea" is every thing, all else being but a manifestation of this. And in this "idea" not only are material things and finite beings lost, but a personal God is engulfed also. Professor Bowne well says of this philosophy:

> There is throughout a failure to name the thinking subject, apart from which neither truth nor reason has any significance. The concrete and living person disappears, and in its place is put the abstraction of an idea or a system of ideas.†

We find in this system the conclusion to which logic is always relentlessly pushing Idealism. The reality of matter is denied; the existence of finite spirits is shattered by the same arguments; and, finally, there is no need of a personal God. Nothing is left but an abstract idea—the most barren phase of idealistic pantheism.

Hegel did not live to realize the extreme consequences of his system, and no doubt honestly supposed he was serving the cause of Christianity. But some of his disciples pushed stubbornly on, and found no stopping place short of atheism. Christian thinkers have ceased to look to the philosophy of Hegel for any assistance in establishing the doctrines of the Bible.

The phase of Idealism most prominent in recent times is that developed in the philosophy of Hermann Lotze, and expounded, in most charming diction for American readers, by Professor Bowne, of Boston. It is termed objective idealism, the phrase being not very definite, and serving mainly to distinguish the system from subjective idealism like that of Fichte. The objectivity of Lotze's idealism is only phenomenal. The appearances of the material universe have not matter for their basis, but spirit; they are phenomena, not of a material substance behind them, but of God, the great supreme Spirit. When we consider how slender is the distinction between a thing and its phenomena, the close affinity of this system with idealistic pantheism will be apparent. In order to bring to light its tendencies it will be necessary to define the position of matter and of man in Lotze's philosophy.

* Ueberweg's *Hist. Phil.*, vol. ii, p. 231. † *Metaphysics*, p. 485.

Matter is not a real substance, created by God and distinct from him, but is a manifestation, or modification, or state, or mode, or phenomenon of the infinite Spirit.

Now, such an assumption offers itself to Idealism in a conviction which we have already reached by another path—the conviction that all individual things are thinkable only as *modifications* of one single Infinite Being. . . . Finally, being actively efficacious in all individual minds, as a power which in the whole spirit-world has assumed innumerable harmonious modes of existence, the infinite brings to pass the exhibition of these same universal laws by the totality of the various world-pictures which arise in various individuals; and, moreover, the constant activities which appear in every individual mind as the real points of contact and intersection for the events within its world are exercised by the infinite with such accord in all that the same things—or, at any rate, the same world of things—appear to all as a common object of intuition, as an external reality common to all and connecting all. . . . Idealism, it will be said, denies that things have realness, and regards them as being by their nature incapable of detaching themselves from the Infinite, of which they are *states*, and attaining complete independence, whereas the last mentioned view allows realness to things in that it regards them as having minds.*

The "view" referred to in the last sentence is the theory of hylozoism, which is well stated in a single paragraph:

We are accordingly constrained to adhere to that view which formerly showed itself merely as a possible one, and to conceive extended matter as a system of unextended beings that, by their forces, fix one another's position in space, and, by the resistance which they offer—as if to the intrusion of a stranger—to any attempt to make them change place, produce the phenomena of impenetrability and the continuous occupation of space. †

Professor Bowne rejects hylozoism,‡ but maintains substantially the same position respecting the phenomenal nature of matter, and presents his views with a remarkable distinctness of expression which is not found in the writings of Lotze. A few quotations from his *Metaphysics* will suffice, although the same phraseology abounds in all his other published works:

Of the finite two conceptions are logically possible. We may view it merely as a *form of energizing* on the part of the infinite, so that it has a purely phenomenal existence; or we may view it as a substantial creation by the infinite.—P. 137.

* *Microcosmus*, vol. ii, pp. 640, 641, 643, Scribner & Welford's edition.

† *Microcosmus*, vol. i, p. 358. ‡ *Introduction to Psychological Theory*, p. 29.

Every constant phenomenon tends to be viewed as a thing. Now, the world owes its substantial existence entirely to this tendency. This substantive character is merely the *form* under which certain objective *activities* of the infinite appear to us. The idealist then proposes to replace the nouns of realism by certain constant *forms of activity* on the part of the infinite.—P. 459.

In addition, the discussion of interaction has shown that the impersonal finite can lay no claim to existence. For, as impersonal, it is without subjectivity, and, as finite, its objective action is mediated by the infinite, that is, it is done by the infinite. It has, then, no longer any reason for existence, and there is no longer any ground for affirming its existence. It does nothing, and is nothing but a *form of thought*, based upon the activity of something not itself.—P. 465.

In treating of matter and force we found ourselves compelled to deny true substantiality to the elements, and to reduce them to mere *acts* of the infinite. Only in the finite spirit can we find any substantial otherness to the infinite. From this stand-point the ontological *reality* of matter disappears entirely.—P. 400.

We must say, then, that only selfhood suffices to mark off the finite from the infinite, and that only the finite spirit attains to substantial otherness to the infinite. Apart from this there is nothing but the infinite and its manifold *activities*. The impersonal finite attains only such otherness as an act or a thought has to its subject.—P. 137.

Combining the results thus reached with the outcome of previous reflection, we come to the conclusion that the world in itself, apart from mind, is simply a *form* of the divine *energizing*, and has its complete existence *only* in *thought*.—P. 472.

According to this system of philosophy only the Infinite Spirit and finite spirits have reality. All things, then, must be included in these two categories. The material universe falls under the head of either finite spirits or the Infinite Spirit. It exists only in the thought or either God or man—it is either God or man, for as "the impersonal finite" it has not "otherness." If it is merely human thought, we land in subjective idealism. Man creates his own universe—in thought. But the Lotzean philosophy rejects subjective idealism, and there is nothing left but the conclusion that the material universe is not other than God, for "only in the finite spirit can we find any substantial otherness to the infinite," which is simply idealistic pantheism.

Nor is this conclusion vitiated by speaking of the universe as the "form" of the divine "activities." A man's mental activ-

ities are not apart from the man, and the activities of God are not apart from God. Realists hold that the *product* of divine activity may be something other than God, but the "form" of his "activities" is not any thing outside of the divine mind. The divine "thought" and "act" spoken of do not reach results in creating and arranging something apart from the thinker and actor, as a man might think out and then construct a cathedral; but, according to this system, God has not created matter as something apart from himself, for the material universe does not attain "otherness;" the "thought" and "activity" are simply energizing within the divine mind. It is the cathedral thought out, but not built; and, by some inexplicable psychological process, man is enabled to perceive this "activity" of God without its having been objectively constructed. It seems clear that the Lotzean philosophy abolishes matter, and places God in its stead.

But a more vital question is, What position does man occupy in this system? Have finite spirits any surer basis of existence than material things? It seems not. Lotze very clearly construes finite spirits as states, or modes, or manifestations of Deity. Two passages will exhibit his position:

> He, therefore, who, constrained by necessity, regards *minds as well as things* as being *states*, *thoughts*, or *modifications* of God or of the infinite, yet as not serving merely to propagate the logical results of the nature of the infinite from point to point, being connected among themselves as links of a chain, but as also feeling that which they do and suffer as their states, in some form of relation to self (*sich*), as events experienced by their self (*selbst*) —he who assumes this, and yet believes in addition that for these living minds, immanent in God, he needs to prove an existence external to God, in order that they may be real in the full meaning of the word, does not, it seems to us, know what he is about —he does not know that he already possesses the kernel whole and complete, and that what he painfully seeks is but the shell.*

In a later work he expresses the same sentiments in the following words:

> It is intelligible, further, that finite spirits, who are not the Absolute itself, but only *modifications* or *fragments* of the same, and yet likewise possess all their existence only through this Absolute, do constantly, in case they reflect upon themselves, suppose that they find an obscure germ in their own being—to wit, just this

* *Microcosmus*, vol. i., p. 646.

power of the Absolute itself. This power it is which works through and through them, and, without their own assistance, prescribes for them the universal forms of their spiritual activity, their sensation, imagination, judgment, etc., and which permits them only within narrow limits to dispose further of this dowry, and to pursue their special ends. That is to say, therefore, "Personality" is in *them* only very imperfectly accomplished.*

It is Lotze who places the word "them" in italics, to indicate that the personality lies in God and not man. These passages are necessarily taken out of their connections, and are quoted solely for the purpose of showing that in Lotze's system finite spirits are merely "states," "thoughts," "modifications," or "fragments" of "God, or the Absolute." The same terms are applied to them as to material things, and they can in no valid sense be distinct from God. The argument respecting man, like that respecting matter, leads to idealistic pantheism.

Professor Bowne does not speak so frankly respecting the status of finite spirits, but remarks are dropped in various parts of his writings which seem to lead to the full conclusion of Lotze, while other passages indicate that he desires to stop short of that conclusion. He says:

> The finite spirits must be excluded entirely from the cosmic process as being no part or phase of it. In one sense the finite mind belongs to the system, and in another sense it does not. When by the system we mean the totality of the infinite's *activity* and *manifestation*, of course the finite mind is a part of it. †

In this passage finite mind is distinguished from matter, and yet included with matter in the "activity and manifestation" of the infinite, which is the extreme position of Lotze. Professor Bowne says again:

> In any case the infinite appears as the real objective ground of our sensations, and we have seen that if these sensations were given the world of finite *persons and things* might fall away without our missing them. Hence we have to say that God is the most certain fact of objective knowledge, and that knowledge of the objective finite must rest for its assurance on an ethical trust in God. ‡
>
> But brave as are these words about disingenuous farces, they do not serve to repress the question as to the real ground of our faith in the existence of other persons like ourselves. We have seen that the infinite mediates all interaction of the finite, and hence that all affections of ourselves are immediately from the

* *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 67. † *Metaphysics*, p. 477, *sq* ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

infinite. God is the cause of causes, and the true objective ground of our changing states. But if these states were given in their present order we should as certainly construct *a world of persons as we do a world of things. If the world of persons should drop away we should never miss them*, but should continue to have the same apparent personal interaction and communion which we have at present. If, then, God had any interest in deceiving us, he could as easily impose upon us an unreal world of persons as an unreal world of things, and in neither case would there be any psychological or metaphysical method of detecting the deceit. What, then, is the real ground for admitting the existence of persons? . . . The true reason can be found neither in psychology nor in physics, but only in ethics. Our belief rests ultimately upon the conviction that it would be morally unbecoming on the part of God to subject us to any such measureless and systematic deceit.*

In these quotations from Lotze and Professor Bowne the words characteristic of the system are placed in italics in order to fix attention upon them. The last passage quoted, and others of the same purport, plainly declare that we cannot know the world of persons any more surely than the world of things. He admits that we are deceived respecting the world of things, and sees no other ground for retaining the world of persons than the ethical belief "that it would be morally unbecoming on the part of God to subject us to any such measureless and systematic deceit." It is becoming on the part of God to deceive us respecting the world of things, but "unbecoming" to deceive us respecting the world of persons. This seems like a very unsatisfactory philosophical basis for a knowledge of the reality of finite spirits. The logic of the system would place man on the same unstable foundation as matter, but Professor Bowne apparently shrinks from following Lotze to this radical conclusion. It is difficult to see what benefit Christianity is to derive from the philosophy of Lotze. He emphasizes, to be sure, the idea of a personal God, but in doing so obliterates the notion of personal finite spirits. If we are "modes," or "modifications," or "fragments" of Deity, it is of little consequence that the idea of a personal God is magnified. God does not need to emphasize his own personality for the information of a "fragment" of himself.

Idealism in our own day has reached two results, the one

* *Metaphysics*, p. 457.

sublime in its speculations, the other ridiculous in its serious interpretation of the principles of the system. The former is the charming volume of Professor Drummond on *Natural Law in the Spiritual World;* or, more accurately, as he himself admits, *Spiritual Law in the Natural World*. Extreme Idealism is the secret of this book. The material world is unreal. The laws which we behold in nature are but the laws of the spiritual realm flashed upon the vision of men. A single passage in the introduction is the key to the entire discussion:

> How the priority of the spiritual improves the strength and meaning of the whole argument will be seen at once. The lines of the spiritual existed first, and it was natural to expect that when the Intelligence resident in the unseen proceeded to frame the material universe he would go upon the lines already laid down. He would, in short, simply project the higher laws downward, so that the natural world would become an incarnation, a visible representation, a working model of the spiritual. The whole function of the material world lies here. The world is only a thing that *is;* it *is* not. It is a thing that teaches, yet not even a thing—a show that shows, a teaching shadow. However useless the demonstration otherwise, philosophy does well in proving that matter is a nonentity. We work with it as a mathematician with an x. The reality is alone the spiritual. It is very well for physicists to speak of matter, but for men generally to call this a material world is an absurdity.—P. 56, *sq.*

The conclusions of this book are easily reached by the path of idealism. If the material world is unreal, if the spiritual world is every thing, then those laws which we have mistakenly attached to the material universe are only projections of the laws that regulate the spiritual realm. There are no material laws because there is no matter; all laws are necessarily spiritual.

The ridiculous phases of Idealism have appeared in our times in the system of "metaphysical healing," or "mind cure," that has deluded so many of the people. Mrs. Glover Eddy, who claims to be the founder of the system, in her work on *Science and Health*, shows that the principles of extreme Idealism are at the foundation of the entire scheme. A denial of the reality of matter opens the farce. She says:

> The conservative position that both matter and mind have place and power is untenable. Science is thorough and permits no halfway positions. My original conclusion in 1866 that mind is all in all—that the only realities are the divine Mind and its ideas—this conclusion is not seen to be supported by sensible evi-

dence till the inquirer masters the principle and rule upon which the conclusion rests. This principle once learned, no other conclusion can be reached. . . . Few will deny that a higher Intelligence forms and governs the universe and man. It is self-evident that this Mind, or divine Principle, can produce nothing unlike Itself, Himself, Herself. Sin, sickness, death, are comprised in a belief in matter. Because spirit is real and harmonious, every thing inharmonious—sin, sickness, death—is the opposite of spirit, and must be the contradiction of reality, must be unreal. . . . The science of mind shows conclusively how it is that matter seemeth to be, but is not. Divine science, rising above physical theories, excludes matter, resolves *things* into *thoughts*, and replaces the objects of material sense with spiritual ideas.—Pp. 14, 15.

The conclusions of this system are naturally drawn from its basal principle with a woman's directness and utter disregard for consequences. If matter is unreal, then pain and suffering and sickness, which inhere in matter, must be unreal; and if men can only bring themselves to think so, they have no physical infirmities. Sick persons are cured by convincing them that, philosophically, they are not and cannot be sick.

The system of Mrs. Eddy goes further, and effectually extinguishes finite spirits:

Spirit is God, soul; and soul, or spirit, is not in man, else God would have but one representative, namely, man, and man would be identical with God. Man is but the reflection of God, and God is not in his reflection any more than a man is in the mirror which returns his likeness. Man should have no other mind than God. In reality he has not. It is only a delusion that he seems to have another mind.—P. 23.

The term *souls*, or *spirits*, is as improper as the term *gods*. Soul or spirit signifies Deity, and nothing else. There is no finite soul or spirit.—P. 404.

Man is but the "reflection" of God, and bears the same relation to reality that the reflection in the mirror bears to the object reflected.

But God himself, according to this system, is not a personal being, but is merely principle or thought.

Man, in the likeness of his Creator, reflects the central light of being, the impersonal God.—P. 72.

The divine principle, not person, is the father and mother of man and the universe.—P. 139.

It follows that Deity is not a person. He has countless ideas, many sons and daughters, but they all have one principle or father.—P. 444.

Because of the human ignorance of the divine principle the Father of mortals on earth and in heaven is represented as a personal Creator.—P. 502.

Man is but the impersonal reflection of an impersonal God, and as such it is not reasonable that he should be subject to aches and pains. The system of "metaphysical healing" seems to be developed, in a crude way, from the absolute idealism of Hegel, which resolves every thing into thought. Surely Christianity will not find an adjunct in this system.

It would seem that Idealism ought to maintain the reality of spirit in denying the reality of matter, and become a bulwark of Theism, but this is by no means necessarily the case. The drift of the system is to resolve the manifold into unity, and that unity may be either human or divine, or a mere idea. Either God or man must yield the right to exist, if not both. Subjective Idealism, in evolving every thing from the human ego, emphasized, to be sure, the existence of finite spirits, but found no place for a personal supreme Spirit. The objective Idealism of Lotze, on the other hand, resolves all things into God, and by so doing greatly magnifies the idea of a personal absolute Spirit, but at the same time undermines the foundation of our belief in the existence of finite spirits. The absolute idealism of Hegel goes even further, and shakes our faith in all personality, identifying being with thought, and leaving us but the barren abstraction of an idea. God and man both disappear in the bewildering speculation, and thought is left without a thinker. Thus Idealism strongly tends to be true to its root-meaning, annihilating, by various processes, matter, man, God, and leaving an abstract *idea* as the sum of all things. And when once the first step is taken in denying reality to matter there seems no rescue from the final and awful conclusion. If there are valid grounds for questioning the reality of any thing that impresses man as profoundly and universally as the physical universe, surely it is not strange that the existence of God and man has been doubted and denied on the same grounds.

The religion of the Bible will not derive any benefit from affiliation with Idealism; and Christian thinkers, in reacting from gross materialism, will find no philosophical necessity to swing over to an opposite extreme that is equally dangerous. That Idealism has no necessary connection with theism, or a

belief in the reality of finite spirits, is illustrated in more recent times in the philosophy of J. S. Mill. He defines matter as a "permanent possibility of sensations," and mind as a "permanent possibility of feeling." If these definitions and others found in his writings do not annihilate God and man and matter, and land us in something like absolute Idealism, then his phrases are greatly liable to be misunderstood.

The Bible goes on the assumption that matter, man, and God have an actual existence, and it is a confession of cowardice for philosophy to deny the reality of one or all of these because grave difficulties arise in explaining their relations. The discovery of the content of matter and spirit, with their relations and interactions, constitutes the great problem which God has given his intelligent creatures to solve; and it is no solution of the problem to eliminate any of its factors. This is merely dodging the issue, and confessing weakness. Let men resolutely grapple with this problem, and, though they may not at once reach a solution, they will yet vastly expand their intellectual faculties in the contest, and will attain a glorious conception of God and his universe.

The Bible may not aid them much in the struggle, for it is not a book of metaphysics, but its clear assumption is that God created something separate from himself, as a manifestation of his wisdom and power. The Scriptures, in their underlying philosophy, seem to run precisely along the line of human intuition and experience. Man, undisturbed by philosophical speculations, never doubts the reality of himself and his fellows, the material universe and God. The teachings of the Bible entirely harmonize with these notions of the common mind. If any thing else is found in human thought or the word of God, it must be as a result of bewildering speculation.

To the common mind such passages as the following from the Bible seem exactly in the face of Idealism in all its phases:

In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. Gen. i, 1.

And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind. Gen. i, 21.

And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind. Gen. i, 25.

And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. . . . So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him. Gen. i, 26, 27.

All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. John i, 3.

For by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him. Col. i, 16.

To plain people these passages seem to teach that God, a being having an actual personality, made other beings somewhat like himself, and distinct from himself; that he created a variety of living animals distinct from himself; and that he constructed a material universe, which is a creation of Deity, but no ways to be confounded with its Creator. The teaching of these Scriptures does not seem at all to harmonize with the theory that the material universe, and God himself, may be merely creations of human fancy, or that the various forms of nature and human beings are but "modes," or "manifestations," or "parts" of the one supreme Spirit, or that God and man and matter may all be evaporated to an abstract idea. The meaning on the face of these passages clearly is, that man and matter were created by God, are upheld by God, and yet are distinct from God and from each other.

The philosophy that accords with the Bible must cordially recognize the reality of both the universe and the great personal Spirit—both the creation and the Creator. God is the Creator of the universe, is immanent in it, and yet clearly distinguished from it. Gilfillan, in stating the Hebrew conception of God's relation to the universe, formulates the true philosophy in a single phrase, "All things are full of, yet distinct from, him." For the present, Christian thinkers can perhaps do no better than take the Scripture account of the matter.

HENRY GRAHAM.

Art. IV.—LANGUAGE-CULTURE: A SYMPOSIUM.

IMPORTANCE OF A KNOWLEDGE OF GREEK.

In asking my presence in the symposium on "Language-Culture in Relation to the Ministry," the Editor has invited me to a very appetizing banquet. Perhaps my table-companions and the listening crowd may better appreciate what I have to say if, by his politeness, I should be introduced not as a scholastic recluse living in a grotto lined with classical lexicons, and dining so exclusively on Greek roots as to have an overweening estimate of this noble language, but rather as an active and laborious itinerant preacher who has set up his lares and penates beside fifteen churches to which in succession the great wheel of Episcopal Methodism has borne him. It is but just that I should also be introduced as quite emphatic in my advocacy, first, last, and always, of that indispensable qualification for the ministry of the Gospel which John the Baptist calls the baptism of the Holy Ghost, which St. John the apostle calls perfect love, and John, the founder of Methodism, calls Christian perfection. Hence our argument for a classically educated ministry is based upon entire consecration to Christ as an indispensable prerequisite.

1. It is not our purpose to dwell upon the obvious advantage to the Greek scholar which comes from his ability to discern, when studying the great text-book of Christianity, those fine shades of meaning which our English fails to express—those perpetual remainders of precious truth left untranslated because no two languages are exactly commensurate in the realm of abstract and complex ideas, in which realm revelation dwells.

2. The candidate for the ministry should remember that the era of Christian apologetics in which we now are will not end so long as there is a human will in rebellion against the Son of God. For that impenitent rebel will endeavor to justify his disloyalty, before the bar of reason, by the plea of difficulties and discrepancies, discrediting both the prophetic and the historic record on which the demand for loyalty to Christ is based. The so-called "higher criticism" will keep the Bible in

its crucible for ages to come, applying its solvents in order to prove its gold to be an alloy. The analytical processes of these destructive critics will become more and more subtle as ages roll by. They must be met, in every age, by invincible defenders of the word of God of scholarship so profound as to enable them to countermine every mine beneath the foundations of revealed truth. There must always be in the Christian camp Greeks to meet Greeks; and the larger this army beneath the banner of the cross, the more certain the final triumph of Christ.

Nor has the age of polemical theology passed away. It will continue so long as one fundamental error disfigures Christianity. There are within the citadel of the Church lurking foes in the uniform of soldiers of Jesus Christ, erudite, subtle, unscrupulous, and skilled to make the worse appear the better reason. These may be grouped in two great classes:

1.) The self-styled Liberals, who are sapping the walls from within by an ingenious perversion of "the unpleasant parts of Christianity," and the construction of a soft theology to suit lax professors. These erroneous doctrines must be met by a scholarly advocacy of the truth in the theological chair, the pulpit, and the press. Here is a crying demand for Greek scholarship in constant use.

2.) The Papists, while professedly defending the fortress of revelation, are really trusting to a stronghold of their own founded on pretended apostolic authority, cemented by successional ordinations, and buttressed by human traditions. In the inevitable collision of Romanism with Protestantism in America in the near future, the one will wield the Vulgate version, while the other will parry the thrust and deal a deadly blow with the broadsword of the original text: the one will rally his allies, the Latin Fathers, and the other, if warring wisely, will be able triumphantly to pit the grandfathers against the Fathers—the older and truthful Greeks against the later and corrupt Latins. What an arena this will be for Greek scholars! Hark! The skirmish lines are beginning the Gettysburg battle between the Latins and the Greeks on American soil.

3. The knowledge of the Greek tongue is no small advantage in the mastery of the terminology of theology, which, like that of every modern science, is derived almost wholly from the lan-

guage in which St. Paul wrote his epistles. To those who object to weighting theology with such long and hard words as "anthropomorphism," "soteriology," and "eschatology," we reply, that to the liberal scholar these words are not weights but wings, aiding his rapid traverse of the broad domain of Christian truth: they are concise symbols of large sections of that domain. Again we reply, that since theology is the mother of all the sciences, and since all these array themselves in the cosmopolitan Greek nomenclature, it is certainly not fitting that the daughters should outshine their mother in the dignity of their vesture. As the Athenians were accustomed very frequently to invest their patron goddess, Minerva, in a new and splendid πέπλος from a Grecian loom, in order that their mistress might neither be eclipsed by some showy rival nor fall into disrepute by reason of her faded attire, so the votaries of theology, in preparing the robes in which she shall sweep through the ages and the millenniums abreast, yea, in advance, of all the philosophies, have enrobed her in vestments from the same loom which will never need renewal, because, like all the Grecian arts, the form is perfect and the colors are fadeless.

At a painful disadvantage does the mere English student acquire the Greek terminology of any science, especially of theology. It is by an effort of arbitrary memory unaided by the supports of etymology, the root-word, the simples united in the compound, and the grammatical terminations. It is a dead-lift of sheer mnemonics, a task like mastering the unalphabetic words of the Chinese language. A few may succeed where the vast majority fail. The objection that the preacher does not need these terms in the pulpit is not valid, for he does need to know them at sight, if he would understand any respectable treatise on theology, and would not be graveled by the trifling difference between *homoousios* and *homoiousios*—an *iota* large enough to distinguish orthodoxy from heterodoxy to-day, and through all the generations to come. But if by dint of Herculean effort the non-classical student masters this terminology, he will be apt to use it in popular address all unmindful that he is preaching in the unknown tongue of the theological seminary. For the smatterer is always a pedant. The thorough scholar is easily simple. When a Greek term comes to his tongue he instantly recognizes it as a foreigner, and substitutes

a pure Saxon word in its stead. Hence the wit and wisdom of the caveat of the poet,

"A little knowledge is a dangerous thing."

4. But we have not yet touched the core of our theme, language-culture as a qualification of the legate of the skies. Culture is as much broader and deeper than knowledge as the Iliad is superior to the Homeric lexicon. We know that in some circles culture is an abused term, because it is forced to bear a burden for which it is not sufficient—the deliverance of the race from sin, and the inspiration of eternal life. But when labor is applied to a soul into which the Holy Spirit has breathed life divine, stimulating, enriching, refining, and strengthening it for the highest possible efficiency in the proclamation of salvation to a dying race, it defines a culture which has a lawful right to exist as long as progress is the beneficent law of man's being.

This brings us to the best instrument of intellectual and æsthetical culture to one already quickened into spiritual life and well grounded in Christian ethics and versed in biblical knowledge. Is it not the consensus of the whole civilized world for more than two thousand years that it is that language which is itself almost a synonym for culture, the tongue in which

"The blind old bard of Scio's rocky isle"

entranced all the listening generations, and the great trio of tragedians educated Athens, and the Stagirite philosopher hewed out the channels in which human reasoning will ever flow, and the most illustrious pupil of Socrates uttered his "divine peradventures," and the unconquerable king of the *bema* swayed at will the fierce democracy of Attica? For it is indisputably the most effective instrument for the discipline of the imagination, taste, and expression to be found outside of Christianity. But why should a preacher go outside of Christianity for his full equipment? In addition to reasons already enumerated we adduce the fact that "the fullness of time," before God sent forth his Son, embraced the universal spread of Hellenic culture as the best propædeutic for that religion which was designed to be universal. Does not this providential preparation of the race—both Jew and Gentile—for the reception of the Gospel, point directly to the best

equipment of the preacher of that Gospel? Let the career of the greatest apostolic preacher answer. St. Paul, educated in the Greek language and literature in the university of Tarsus, the greatest center of Hellenic learning east of Athens, was providentially raised up and fitted by his broad and high culture to save Christianity from being smothered to death in its Hebrew cradle by a burdensome ritual and an intolerable bigotry. As certainly as Jesus was the author of the glorious Gospel Paul was its saviour. He skillfully and heroically cut its umbilical cord, detached its Jewish integuments, and gave to it that consciousness of freedom and catholicity which sent it forth to universal conquest. Only less striking was the salvation of Christianity in the dark ages through that Greek culture whose rays shot across the darkness of Europe from fallen Constantinople, revived letters, and fell upon the cradles of Martin Luther and William Tyndale. When, still later, the almighty Spirit would "create a soul beneath the ribs of death" in the Church of England, it was not fortuitously that he chose a fellow of Oxford University, a lecturer on Greek, to kindle the flame of Methodism which all the nations fires. Others, as John Nelson, the stone-cutter, had grace and grit for such a work, but John Wesley had Greek as well as grace and grit, and Greek was necessary to steady and direct the movement of an army of lay preachers, to clear their theology from mediæval errors, and to give them a translation of the New Testament antedating nearly all the excellences of the Revision by more than a century and a quarter. Dr. Vincent, in urging that vast flock of which he is now one of the chief shepherds into the pastures of a broad and liberal culture, is fond of reminding them of the time, not long ago, when all the Methodists read Greek. We hope that he will live to see the stream, so far as the ministry is concerned, rise to the level of its fountain, the Oxford "Holy Club." It is possible that the laity may not rise to that altitude till the second or third centennial of the Chautauqua University.

5. If grace is the proper dress of truth, it is a disgrace to clothe her in garments ragged or ill-fitted. The preacher often deals with those with whom manner is more impressive than matter. Hence the need of diligent studies in rhetorical form and oratorical expression, as well as in logical exactness. But

form and expression are acquired by imitation. This requires faultless models. Where shall they be found? The Greeks were the world's teachers in the art of expression. The motto of all in ancient times who aimed at perfection in all the humane arts was εἰς Ἀθήνας, *To Athens.* The Greek taste has been regarded by all cultivated nations as the standard from which there is no appeal; whoever falls short or goes beyond is weak, or confused, or tawdry. This is as true of oratory as it is of poetry, painting, or sculpture.

The success of the Christian minister lies largely in his ability to sway men in public address. He should understand that eloquence is not a beautiful gift dropped from heaven upon a few favorites, but that it is a talent laboriously acquired by a will perseveringly directed to that end. To what faultless model for both the acquisition and the exemplification of the art of persuasive speech shall the preacher turn with the utmost confidence that he will not copy deformity? To Greece, not to Rome; not to pompous Cicero, but to his *beau ideal*, Demosthenes, "who alone towers above all men in every kind of oratory." He then adds, "So that no higher eloquence can be required." The brilliant and magnetic Bossuet, no mean critic of oratory, pronounced the Oration for the Crown "the greatest work of the human mind," while our own American Legaré styles his orations "the true and only models of popular eloquence for all times and all nations." Demosthenes was the impersonation of force; a whole Niagara, whose awful, thundering flood nothing could resist. In him eloquence appears in its highest living power. He who would realize the greatest benefit from the study of this faultless model must master the pure Attic in which this Titan forged his thunderbolts. He must obey the precept of Horace in his *Ars Poetica:*

> "Vos exemplaria Græca
> Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna."

For the amplification of this theme I refer the reader to my articles in *The Methodist Quarterly Review*, "The Bema and the Pulpit," January, 1862, and "Æschines and Eloquence," April, 1863.

But there is another model of prose style which the preacher cannot afford to neglect. The dialogues of Plato, after more

than twenty-two centuries, charm us with their transparent periods. The gentleness of the chief speaker, his humility, love of truth, and scorn of shams, inspire in us the desire to acquire the same character. They are a panorama in which the very spirit and essence of philosophy move in beautiful forms before our eyes. Both Socrates and his pupil seem to be eminently spiritually minded, either by nature or because, in the words of Dr. Bushnell, "they had been regenerated by a special mission of the Holy Ghost." The Christian element in this Athenian philosopher has drawn many thoughtful minds to Christ, from the age of Augustine to that of Neander. The advantage to the literary taste arising from the study of such exquisite productions is of no small value to a writer and speaker. Says Professor W. S. Tyler: "No tragedy of Sophocles has a more dramatic structure, no comedy of Aristophanes a more pleasing dialogue, no epic of Homer or lyric of Anacreon more grace and affluence of language, no temple or statue in all Greece a more artistic form and finish, than the dialogues of Plato."

Would the preacher cultivate his imagination, guarding against extravagance? Let him read Homer. "To be Homeric," says Coleridge, "is to be natural, lively, rapid, energetic, harmonious." He is both the fountain and standard of poetry. The afflatus of all the modern poets is breathed by him. The visitor to London will find on the base of that poem in marble, the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park, an artist's conception wondrously beautiful and truthful. It is a group of the world's great poets in life size, among them Virgil, Dante, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Molière, and Cervantes, all listening entranced to an old bard in the midst who is touching the strings of his lyre. Well may England give the place of honor to Homer, the tutor who has trained in her universities that succession of illustrious statesmen and orators of whom Gladstone is a specimen. This "grand old man" wants to do two things before he dies—give Home Rule to Ireland and prove the identity of Homeric and Hebrew theology. The writers of the golden age of English literature, and especially the giants of the English pulpit till Spurgeon, were nurtured almost entirely on the Bible and the Greek classics. This fact is worth remembering in these days, when we hear the demand for the "new education"—a larger

place for the physical sciences at the expense of Greek. In the decay of faith, through the blight of rationalism, materialism, and agnosticism reducing the per cent. of theological students almost to zero in the oldest American university, it is a natural sequence that the sacred tongues should be dropped from the required curriculum in less than a century after the divine Christ had been thrust out of the creed. The Gospel preserves the Greek is as true as its converse: the Greek preserves the Gospel.

That we may not be considered extravagant in our declaration that the Greek language is the most perfect vehicle of human thoughts and feelings, we quote from the familiar and magnificent apostrophe of that acknowledged master of criticism, Samuel T. Coleridge:

> The shrine of the genius of the Old World, as universal as our race, as individual as ourselves; of infinite flexibility, of indefatigable strength; with the complication and distinctness of nature herself; to which nothing was vulgar, from which nothing was excluded; speaking to the ear like Italian, speaking to the mind like English; with words like pictures, with words like the gossamer film of the summer.

Of all modern nations Americans most need to heed the exhortation, "To Athens;" because it is our national trait to exalt the useful to the neglect of the beautiful, instead of "marrying beauty to use," in the felicitous phrase of Whittier. Our American haste in the arts, especially in the fine arts, ends in crudeness, mediocrity, and often in uncouthness.

Of the ministries of all the great American denominations, the Methodist most needs to sound the cry, "To Athens." Following the adage of our founder, "Study is good, but saving souls is better," many of our young men are still rushing as unwisely into the ministry with untrained intellects as thoughtless woodmen haste into the forest with unground axes. Is it not time to pause and inquire whether study and soul-saving, Greek and grace, cannot be more effective when combined than when separated? It is gratifying to learn that the number of those who are attempting to give an experimental answer to this question is steadily increasing. DANIEL STEELE.

STUDY OF HEBREW BY PREACHERS.

We are asked to write a short piece on the advantages of a knowledge of the Hebrew language to the preacher. We do not regard this as a difficult task, and we therefore accept it. We would not think it worth while for us personally to occupy the best of our time in teaching Hebrew to incipient preachers if we did not believe that it would materially assist them in their future sermons; nor would the Church be warranted in founding and maintaining institutions for this, as a part of their purpose, if it did not hope for a tenfold return of its outlay and care; nor would the schools be justified in requiring this as an essential to a full diploma if it were deemed of trifling importance; nor would the students themselves be doing right in delaying to enter upon their career if they did not expect to be abundantly compensated in their superior equipment thereby. Are these arrangements and expenditures judicious and profitable? The question really amounts to that. We are fully convinced by the experience and observation of many years that an affirmative answer is increasingly forced upon us.

Let us not, however, be misunderstood at the outset of our inquiry and claims. We do not assert that a knowledge of the Hebrew language is essential to a measure of success and acceptability in a preacher. On the contrary, we know hundreds and thousands who are very respectable preachers, to say the least, without any acquaintance with Hebrew whatever. There are many who even rise to a high position as pulpit orators with little, if any, familiarity with that language. We are compelled to confess a doubt if our own bishops or doctors of divinity or most eminent ministers, as a rule, could pass a creditable examination for graduation in one of our theological seminaries on this branch of study. But this does not prove the uselessness or unimportance of this information. These justly honored men have achieved their exalted position and reputation not *because* of this non-attainment, but *in spite* of it. Were they as deficient in other departments of qualification as in this they would never have emerged from the level of obscurity. Their extraordinary talents, acquirements, abilities, and exertions in other lines have overcome their disadvantage here; but they would be the last to disparage or discourage

either learning in general or this branch of it in particular. For they are themselves conscious of a defect at this point, and the varied and intense demands made upon them in public service have only corroborated their conviction that they would be still better fitted for their wide sphere of usefulness could they have added this likewise to their other acquisitions.

Again, we readily grant that for certain special lines of evangelization the study of Hebrew is even less important—in fact, quite unessential. For example, Mr. Moody or Mr. Harrison, who make no pretension to this or any scholastic training, are nevertheless pre-eminently useful and popular as revivalists; nor would we detract an iota from their fame and merits. But if they were to preach for five years, or even one year, to the same audiences, and—what is much more to the point—were to become regular pastors, having the oversight of the Sunday-school, the Bible-class, the young and the old inquirers after Scriptural truth among their congregations, they would soon come to know how valuable—rather, how essential—is a more intimate understanding of the Holy Scriptures than can be gained from the Authorized or any other version. Let the earnest Bible study in the schools at Northfield testify to this.

Once more, it is often said by short-sighted and ill-posted objectors that the early Methodist preachers got along remarkably well without Hebrew or schools to teach it. This is a great mistake. The pioneers of Methodism were diligent students of the word of God, and that in its original tongues. We have seen the Hebrew Bible of Bishop Asbury—a precious relic; and it bears marks of careful and constant use; it was carried about by him in his scanty knapsack all over the country. Dr. Clarke, Mr. Benson, Mr. Watson, and multitudes of others in the Old World, and numbers in the New, were not insignificant in Hebrew scholarship. Mr. Wesley himself was a fine adept in it, and it is not too much to aver that, without the deep information and the broad balance of mind which the study of this and of other languages gave him, he would not have been qualified or enabled to erect and consolidate the noble monument of the Methodist Church in Great Britain and America. Only by preachers as devoted and as well-informed as these can its power be perpetuated in the earth.

Finally, among these preliminary remarks, which might be

greatly and profitably extended were we not limited to very close space, we note the objection that Hebrew scholars are not always—grant, if you please, for the sake of argument, not usually—the most eagerly sought or notably successful as preachers. But permit us to ask in reply, Is their knowledge of Hebrew the cause of their inefficiency and unacceptability? Are they dull simply because they know so much? Do they not rather fail because they have not cultivated the other requisites to effective pulpit effort? Would they not be duller still, or indeed wholly uninteresting, if they did not show, at least, this measure and kind of information? Do not find fault with this, if it be the only good thing in their preaching. But there are many examples of good preachers who are also good scholars, and good Hebraists too; and these are amply sufficient to show that Hebrew studies are not incompatible with, but may be made greatly contributory to, inviting and profitable sermonizing. Bear in mind, then, we repeat, that we do not claim that this study will alone or of itself make a good preacher; it may, and we hope to show that it will, nevertheless, aid in that direction, if suitably applied and properly re-enforced.

Having frankly and fully made these important concessions, we now turn to the positive side of our subject; and we will attempt, by a few brief arguments, to show why we advocate Hebrew study as a means of promoting efficiency in the pulpit and the pastorate. We put these two spheres together because we are convinced that they can never be divorced, of right and in fact; for they are wedded by the law of God and man, and, like matrimonial "help-meets," they mutually support and complement each other.

1. *A knowledge of Hebrew, even if quite moderate, will save the preacher from many a serious and humiliating blunder in his discourses.* For the want of this how often is he liable to be caught tripping on some point of philology or exegesis in quoting the Old Testament! We wonder how any man in the pulpit, where he must continually read and expound the whole Bible, dares to venture upon the least criticism of its language or import without some acquaintance with the original. There are always more or less individuals in an ordinary congregation who are able to detect his slips; and he at least knows his uncertainty; his very hesitation is sure to betray

him, even to the unlearned. In the mere matter of taking a text he is never safe, however simple and plain it may be. We lately heard an excellent minister (not of our own denomination) preaching from Psa. xcvii, 12, "Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous, and give thanks at the remembrance of his holiness," dwell at great length upon the latter clause, to show that the recollection of the sanctity of the divine character and administration is the ground of the most grateful Christian confidence, and the greatest incentive to an imitation of it. The sentiment is a beautiful one, and the doctrine entirely orthodox; but if he had examined the original, or had even looked into the Revised Version, from which he read the Scripture lessons in that very service, and where the phrase in question is rendered, "give thanks to his holy name," but which is literally, "stretch forth hands to the memorial of his sanctuary," that is, *worship toward his temple*, he would have seen that there was no foundation for his remarks in that passage. Many a charity sermon, we presume, has been based upon that familiar text (Psa. xii, 1), "Blessed is he that considereth the poor," etc., without a suspicion that it merely refers to kindness toward the spiritually distressed, the "poor in spirit." It is not enough for the preacher to consult a commentary on his text; if he has himself no knowledge of the original, he cannot appreciate a philological or exegetical criticism of any depth. He must walk with crutches, instead of using his own legs. If he depends upon other people's comments, his lameness will soon appear. While a private Mohammedan of any repute, and especially a *mullah*, or religious teacher, refuses even to read the Koran in a translation, so that all Moslems are more or less acquainted with Arabic, and the educated Jew is proud of his almost vernacular familiarity with "the sacred tongue," it is a shame for any Christian minister to consent to remain ignorant of the original text of the Bible, with such facilities as are now at hand for mastering it. It is little short of "handling the word of God deceitfully."

2. *An acquaintance with Hebrew greatly enlarges and vivifies the treatment of all Scripture themes in the pulpit.* Not only in point of authority and accuracy is the preacher fortified by being able to peruse the original, but there are nice shades of meaning and delicate beauties of expression which no trans-

lation can convey and no commentary will be found to develop. It is like being transported to the very scenes of the Bible, and living them over again in their own home. To talk through an interpreter, especially in public, is a great loss of continuity, fire, and impressiveness; and to read through other men's eyes, or through the imperfect lens of a commentary, is very much the same. The preacher who becomes possessed of the spirit and genius of the Bible through his own direct inspection of its veritable and inspired language cannot fail to render it with a life-likeness and a command superior to the mere second-hand retailer of its divine contents. Try it for yourself, dear reader of these pages, and see if your auditors do not at once appreciate the difference. If all do not, you will at least have the delight of drinking deeper than ever before at the fountain of salvation. You will find the water welling up within you unto eternal life. This is true of the New Testament, where a knowledge of classical Greek is a great help to the preacher; but, as the dialect there is largely Hebraistic, he cannot fully understand it without some knowledge also of Hebrew. Thus illuminated, the whole phraseology becomes transparent with a pertinency and a significance never realized otherwise. There is a mine of illustration and enforcement in Scripture history, poetry, and doctrine which the superficial citation or perusal fails to reach, and which will not spontaneously spring to the lips of one whose mind is not saturated with its inner truth. Flippant quotations of passages never carefully studied or well understood pass over an audience like the rattling of pop-guns; but the heavy shot of a really fresh and sound scriptural thought arouses like the electric peal of thunder. It is the sword of the Spirit that, duly sharpened and truly wielded, is to pierce to the heart of the King's enemies; and it is the same word that, rightly divided, is to yield food for his people. Never fear exhausting the meaning, but "bring forth from the treasure things new and old" for the feast of the Christian household. There is a richer field and a more splendid opportunity for this development of varied and novel exposition in the Old Testament, from the very fact that its language is more peculiar and less generally studied than the Greek. The diligent and judicious scholar who delves into its secrets will find its stores quite as profitable and even spiritual as the documents of later

saints. The narratives of Moses, the experience of Job, and the strains of the prophets can never be superseded even by the memoirs of the Gospels, the records of the Acts, the letters of the apostles, or the visions of the Apocalypse. Both Testaments are equally the heritage of Christendom, for they were alike intended for the edification and delectation of the true children of God through all time. Let their official guardians and administrators see that their wards are not defrauded of any portion or benefit of the patrimony. The Master will demand an account of the deposit though buried in a napkin, and according to the rate of interest developed upon it by painstaking study will be the final award.

3. *The study of Hebrew is highly conducive to the development and strengthening of the mental faculties and to the cultivation of a refined literary taste.* Many persons pass through school, academy, and college merely for these ends, without the expectation of pursuing a professional career; many in actual professional life continue their study of languages, mathematics, science, or literature purely for the love of it, or to keep their minds in a broad channel and in healthy action; and many preachers enter upon an extended course of reading, or maintain these habits of philological, historical, and abstract investigation, in order to sharpen and invigorate their intellectual powers. Why should not Hebrew be a good exercise, as well as Latin and Greek, or as well as French and German? It is simpler, older, and more self-contained than any of these fashionable languages; it has its idioms quite as peculiar and definite; and it has the great advantage of belonging to altogether another stock, requiring a readjustment of the whole process of articulation, derivation, inflection, and combination. Its pursuit is like entering a new world of ideas and expressions; and that the pre-eminently poetical one of Oriental sentiment and imagination. Almost every phrase is a picture, and every word a figure. The brilliancy of coloring is like that of the Eastern sky, and, when rightly apprehended, its clearness, too, is equal to that of the Oriental sun. There is a directness, a simplicity, an earnestness, and a dignity about it that charm and elevate the soul when thoroughly imbued with its temper. Pagan and profane literature has nothing to compare with it in real nervousness and pathos. There are idiomatic problems to

be solved which will tax the utmost skill and acumen of the philologist, archæological questions that will call forth the deepest research and the calmest patience, thoughts of God, the soul, time, and eternity that will swell and test the largest powers of mind. History, poetry, didactics, from the humblest plane of mortal concerns to the loftiest sweep of celestial plans, are there to interest and discipline the student: miracle and vision startle him in one book, and the sweet story of pastoral life beguiles him in another; riddles of providence confront him in Job, idyls of romance and adages of wisdom allure him in Solomon, lyrics of rapture and wails of penitence thrill him in David, weird scenes and far-reaching glimpses into the future awe him in Daniel and Isaiah; and as a deep key-note to all the varied symphony of the many voices, from the Pentateuch to the minor prophets there runs the solemn ring of the divine law challenging his conscience to conform to the behests of infinite purity. It is impossible that such impressions should not be in the highest degree beneficial to the mental, moral, and spiritual nature of any man, and especially clarifying, stimulating, and edifying to the soul of the preacher of the Gospel. We are thoroughly persuaded that if many ministers were as intimately familiar with the writings of Moses, David, Solomon, and the prophets as they seem to be with Gibbon, Shakespeare, Bacon, and the novelists, they would entertain and profit their hearers far more effectually. If they once got a taste of the cool, pure, and deep spring of biblical erudition they would never forsake it for the brackish and muddy waters of secular speculation and fiction. Multitudes of ministers, we fear, read their daily newspapers with more zest and intelligence than their Bibles. How can they wonder that their ministrations in the pulpit are cold and barren? If they understood Scripture as well as some of them do science and politics, and poured the ripeness of their minds and hearts into their sermons, they would not have to complain of empty seats and listless hearers. In these days of sharp competition between rival denominations and neighboring churches, we recommend this method of recruiting their audiences and improving their appointments, rather than a resort to sensational and clap-trap topics announced beforehand in the press. A head filled with religious truth well digested from a close and original contact

with the Holy Scriptures, and a heart warmly alive to human interests through the baptism of the Holy Spirit, is the best recipe that can be given to prevent any preacher, young or old, from reaching prematurely the "dead line" of inefficiency.

JAMES STRONG.

THE STUDY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

There is a broad distinction between the study of languages and the study of language. The study of languages is informative, practical in its purpose; the study of language is disciplinal. The one looks toward commerce with one's fellows, toward the business of life; and the student from this stand-point regards the knowledge of languages desirable simply because they are necessary to his pursuits, or for communication with other minds. The study of language, on the other hand, is to train and discipline the faculties of the mind; and, from this stand-point, the student finds a value in his work quite beyond any practical uses to which the information he acquires may be applied. The practical ends of the one pursuit would be fully and satisfactorily attained if, without any mental effort whatever, the student could, by the imposition of the hands of the teacher, have imparted to him the miraculous endowment of the apostolic age, "the gift of tongues and the gift of interpretation." What else, just here, does the seeker after this knowledge want? But knowledge acquired in such a way, however available for missionary purposes, or valuable for business and professional uses, would be destitute of any educational worth. The mind can be developed, its faculties trained, only as the sinews of the athlete are strengthened, by hard, continuous, patient toil. There is no royal road to geometry, or to any thing else that is worth the getting. Says the wise Horace: "He that would excel must first toil long and bear much; he must first swelter in the heat, and shiver in the cold; he must refrain from self-indulgence, and tremble before the schoolmaster." Says the old Greek Epicharmus: "The gods sell all good things to us for labor; they have put sweat over against excellence." Of such a description is the study of language. The achievement of the child who begins with nothing, but in a few years has learned to speak a language, is very wonderful; yet

this colloquial acquisition of the mother-tongue is easy compared with the later critical study of the same language, the mastery of its subjective thought-relations and processes. The child's acquisition is mostly a matter of imitation and memory; the other is the harder work of the inner sense, the exercise of the analytic or reasoning faculties. Most people's knowledge of the language remains of the former character; the more exhaustive study is the work of but few.

Now, it is the difficulty of this very kind in the study of Latin and Greek that chiefly recommends them as an organon of education above our own language, as the latter is usually studied. Of course, the intimate relation of the ancient languages to the languages of modern Europe, and the intrinsic worth of their literature, constitute a sufficient reason for their study as subjects of general literary interest, or of special professional value. But these are not the larger reasons for their study in our schools. We find this larger reason in the fact that these ponderous tongues, which cannot be rendered easy or simple, supply, by reason of that difficulty, so admirable, so unequaled a linguistic drill. And the intelligent educator knows that this difficulty, which has so often been urged against them as a school study, is not only not a valid objection, but is their chief recommendation in this direction. Nay, if we could, at volition, simplify them; if by some pedagogic legerdemain we could make the study of Greek a thing of rote instead of work and thought, we should, for the student's sake, abstain from doing it. We could not do the student a more grievous wrong. The teacher of the classics who understands his work, while he would fain illuminate the path of his pupil and make his toil attractive, would not wish to divest the language of its intrinsic difficulties. Such a wish could come only from a singular misapprehension of the very foundation purpose with which, as a matter of education, we prescribe these studies at all. For our educational work we may well thank the gods that they gave old Athens and Rome languages which not only commend themselves to us for their marvelous structure and their glorious literature, but which our school-boys must learn, if they learn them at all, with the sweat of their brain. The most strenuous opposer of classical studies must at least admit this, that classic students do acquire some scholarly

acquaintance with these languages, and with an immortal literature; but, better still, they acquire a knowledge of *language*, the instrument of all thought, and, through this, a wholesome, sinewy discipline of mind.

But while the study of Greek and Latin quite certainly brings with it this special discipline, and while this study is the accepted, and perhaps the best, route to the most liberal and most practical education, it does not follow that it is indispensable to these ends; it does not follow that a similar, and possibly equivalent, educational discipline may not be secured, if properly attempted, through the study of English. Doubtless the largest part of our people—probably the largest part of our professional men—will never have much other instruction in language than they get in the study of English. Yet this limitation in their studies, though it shuts them out from some special lines of knowledge, need not exclude any who will from the discipline and the culture that come from the study of language; from the study of grammar and dictionary and literature simply as grammar and dictionary and literature. This discipline and culture they can get in the study of the English alone, if not as certainly, as thoroughly and exhaustively, as in the study of the classics, yet as characteristically and as serviceably for the work of life.

We have in our native tongue, if not as perfect an instrument of literary impression as in the classics, yet one adequate to all the demands of thought; and we have in our literature copious models of every kind of literary excellence. The student can find in these—can find in the recent admirable treatises on the history and the structure of our language, can find in his English Bible, his Shakespeare, his Bacon, and his Burke, the requisite helps for the critical study of English quite as surely as he would find helps of the like nature in the study of Homer and Plato, of Virgil and Cicero. Let the aspirant to the acquirement of English study the great masters of his own tongue, as the student in college studies the Greek and Roman masters, and his profiting will be as sure if not as copious; and may be as available for all literary ends.

But it is a work that cannot be compassed in a day. We expect the average college student, with somewhat mature mind, to give five or six years of assiduous study to the Greek and

Latin, not merely that he may learn those languages, but that he may learn *language*. And we are satisfied if, at the end of this course, he becomes a tolerable critic in those studies. Certainly the mere English student should be content with no less pains; he should devote longer and more assiduous study to the powers of his native tongue, its grammar, vocabulary, philology, and to the critical study of its glorious literature, than to any foreign language. One's language is not capable of being exhaustively discussed in a year or two, and then laid aside, as some completed school-study. It is the first thing the child learns, but the last thing the man becomes proficient in.

A critical knowledge of Latin and Greek is a much more common accomplishment than a critical knowledge of English. The reason is because Greek and Latin had been systematically and carefully studied in school, and the English has been neglected or remitted to the chances of miscellaneous reading and writing. The former have to be conned slowly, painfully, with grammar, lexicon, and close construing, with the most concentrated yet discursive effort of the mind of which the student is capable; while our too familiar English is run over cursorily, thoughtlessly, as though needing no pause for the investigation of the grammar, diction, or style. If the student were compelled to pause over his English Shakespeare as deliberately and inquiringly as over his Greek Sophocles; if he should need to dig out his Hamlet and Lear word by word, line by line, sentence by sentence, as Kossuth did when learning English in an Austrian prison, he would reap from such methods, slow and painful at first, the same kind of profit to memory, understanding, discrimination, taste, as in the study of the Greek and Roman classics. The language thus studied would give him the needed drill and knowledge and discipline, of the same kind if not in the same degree, as the tongues of Athens and Rome. There is not a single line of study, no linguistic characteristic, not a single feature, in Greek and Latin, that we do not find, in some measure, if not in full measure, in our native speech. And if the student achieves what is within his reach in his own language, he has, in fact, achieved the great principles which hold for all languages; he has gotten the *philosophy of language*.

In advocating the study of English, I am far from depre-

ciating the study of the ancient languages, whether for discipline or for scholarship. The unanimous voice of learned men points to the remains of Greek and Roman learning as pre-eminently the model literature of the world. "The great things of poetry and of eloquence," says Lord Brougham, in his Glasgow inaugural, "have been done by men who cultivated the mighty exemplars of Athenian genius, with daily and with nightly devotion." There are in the various walks of life some men whose calling constrains them that they should be classical scholars. The philologer who seeks the lines of learned investigation, the exegete who aspires to be a reliable expositor of the Scriptures, need, of course, to go to the fountains of knowledge. To be an authority in those matters, to have a right to opinion and speech on controverted points, and not to be dependent on the opinions of other men, the easy spoil of every pretentious gainsayer, the minister of the Gospel should be at home in the language in which his Gospel was written. Yet even those specialists in classic learning ought to be still more at home in their native tongue, in all the possibilities of which they must needs find their largest occupation, and in which they teach others.

Every educated person ought to know his own language well enough to speak and to write it correctly, and to read its literature intelligently; and those whose pursuits call upon them to employ the language professionally—the men who teach it or who teach in it, the men who speak it or write it for the public—ought to have, at least, a fair mastery both of the language and of the literature. But this very moderate requirement is far from being met. It has been said that the English is an unknown tongue in England, and it is equally so in our own country. Paradoxical as the saying is, it has a large element of truth. That only can be said to be known which is a matter of intelligent apprehension and comprehension. Certainly the vast majority of our people, the majority even of our educated men, have not much more knowledge of their language than comes from unthinking adoption of the usages of equally inattentive people around them. They merely absorb what comes spontaneously to hand. It would not be difficult to puzzle most classic graduates with a few well-chosen questions on the most elementary and familiar parts of their mother-tongue. Their

knowledge of their own language has never been satisfactory to themselves, nor can they, in cases of doubt or question, give a reason for their own usage.

Nor is the explanation far to seek. Their knowledge of English is not a knowledge that comes from study, as in the case of the classic tongues. They have learned what Greek and Latin they know by specific study of each word in the dictionary and the grammar, and by drill in the lecture-room; they have pondered these words one at a time, singly and in their connections, have mastered their various sources, and measured their applications, until they know them. But the English words that they talk, and occasionally write, they hold in some loose, conventional sense, or senses, and have never stopped to think about them, or to discriminate their several functions well enough to know how to desynonymize them, or to trace out the several senses which lie potentially in each particular word.

And yet this is not very wonderful. It has never been the theory of our systems of education that our native language needed to be studied, or, at least, to be studied with the pain we bestow upon other tongues. Most of us have got our English as Dogberry got his reading and writing, by the sheer force of nature. Is it not the tongue we were born in? Why should young America go to school to learn it? He goes to school to learn something practical, something more useful and available in the market than words. Should he, however, notwithstanding this practical outlook for the main chance, or possibly as incidental to it, get some formal culture in this direction, it consists usually in what ought to come almost last of all—it consists usually in the meagerest elements of grammar; and all his knowledge of the glorious tongue beyond this is the accident of circumstances. Quite generally, and in our common schools especially, this study is pursued with no proper conception of its special worth as a discipline, or as an accompaniment and stimulus to literary culture. In a large number of pupils, and even of teachers of grammar, it accordingly degenerates into a mere scholastic jargon, "like the tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

W. G. Williams.

Art. V.—OUR LORD AND THE REST-DAY.

The commandment of the decalogue in the Mosaic legislation respecting the Sabbath, or rest-day, seems to have been the one law which was observed in our Lord's day with most scrupulous exactness. There is nowhere in the gospels an indication of any tendency to relax any of its provisions or to fritter it away by any lax interpretation. On the contrary, the evident effort was to make its requirements as stringent as possible, and, indeed, to attach to it various traditional expositions which added somewhat to what was necessarily intended by the letter of the law. No liberalistic construction of its provisions was therefore either allowed or sought, and no deviation from the authorized understanding was tolerated.

There was, therefore, on the part of the promulgers of the doctrines of the kingdom of which Jesus was the ruler, no necessity to exhort or urge to its observance or to make any specific mention of it as being to be enforced. There was no need to call men to repentance for the sin of Sabbath-breaking in the sense of infraction of the obvious requirements of the law, or of profaning the sanctity of the day; and, therefore, nothing of the kind is found, either in the Gospels, Acts, or Epistles. To neglect or desecrate the Sabbath seems to have been a matter almost inconceivable to that generation, and therefore requiring but little if any precautionary effort.

Out of this general unanimity of opinion and practice, certain of the enemies of our Lord strove to make capital against him with the rulers and the multitude. His performing of miracles on the Sabbath day, and an incident in the conduct of his disciples, seemed to be exceptions to the rule of its general sacredness, and, in the very face of the customary stringent observance of the fourth commandment, of such serious nature as to demand explanation at least, if not confession and reformation, lest evil should be wrought in the opinions and conduct of the people who were so largely becoming the followers of this new and already renowned Leader.

Objections were now made to his custom of embracing an opportunity, if afforded him, on the Sabbath as well as other days, of healing the sick and thus manifesting the possession of

the power to work miracles; and when on the Sabbath day his disciples on their way through the fields plucked and ate the ears of corn the incident was speedily seized upon as one of great and unheard-of heinousness, and explanation or apology was as speedily demanded. "See," said the Pharisees, pointing to the disciples; "why do they on the Sabbath day that which is not lawful"—that which is not permitted? It is observable that Jesus does not seem to have joined in the act, and therefore his disciples are alone in question. The responsibility is not on that account evaded; neither is the authority of the law at all in any measure questioned, but is evidently admitted as of full force and binding obligation upon the disciples. There is simply a question as to the meaning, the range, and interpretation of the commandment.

The narrative brings out clearly the fact that the disciples were hungry, had great need, and seem to have had at the time no other resource. It was therefore a case of absolute necessity. Jesus shows that their action, in its relation to law just as authoritative as this, was not without sufficient and illustrious precedent. "Have ye never read," said he, somewhat curtly, and with a latent reference to their assumed depth of study and understanding of the law and Scriptures—"have ye never read what David did, when he had need, and was a hungered, he, and they that were with him, how he went into the house of God, in the days of Abiathar [the son of] the high-priest, and did eat the shew bread, which is not lawful to eat but for the priests, and gave also to them which were with him?" If, therefore, David was justified in disregarding the letter of a law on the plea and because of necessity, his pressing physical need, there seemed to be no reason why the same plea, arising from the same cause, should not be a valid defense for them, even granting the unproved assumption that the action of his disciples was in violation of the letter of the sabbatic law. But, further, even on the Sabbath day certain kinds of work may be performed in the most sacred of all places and in the most holy Presence, and yet there be no offense; for "have ye not read in the law, that on the Sabbaths the priests in the temple profane the Sabbath and are blameless? But I say unto you, that a greater than the temple is here;" that is, a greater matter, a principle of action underlying all these statutory enactments,

which is of greater importance to be maintained and observed than is the literal application of the letter of the law as to the abstaining from actual work on the Sabbath day in the temple, namely, the law of mercy, it being greater than the law of sacrifice; "and, if ye have understood what this is," its real meaning, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," that is, that mercy is more pleasing, more in accordance with my will, than sacrifice, "ye would not condemn the blameless," since this principle would have exonerated them from all guilt. And so this same preference of mercy was afterward illustrated and enforced, as recognized in the Mosaic law and in the practice of the day, in the case of a sheep that had fallen into a pit, which any man, without any desecration of the Sabbath day, would "lay hold on and lift out." For a much greater reason, since a "man is much better than a sheep," help in the misfortunes and for the relief of suffering may be given to a man; whence arises the general principle, "It is lawful on the Sabbath to do well;" that is, to do good, to "save life" or a "soul." Thus there were covered under the Mosaic code the privileges, duties, and labors of the sanctuary, and, no change being made, the same law must also allow that work of the rest-day which is needful and for which it is was largely appointed; and it is not to be construed as prohibiting "the work of faith and labor of love" which falls to the lot of the ministry and the Church of Jesus, the purpose of which is to do good, and to save a life or soul. For confirmation of all this, as the teaching of our Lord, reference may be had to Matt. xii, 1–12; Mark ii, 23–26; iii, 1–5; Luke vi, 1–4.

In closing the conversation which grew out of the objection to his disciples plucking and eating ears of corn, which was not condemned as a wrong in itself, nor as being something to which objection would have been made had it occurred on any other day than on the Sabbath, but only sinful in its relation to the Sabbath day, Jesus laid down the broad propositions:

1. That the Sabbath was made for, or on account of, man.

2. That man was not made for, or on account of, the Sabbath.

3. That the Son of man (namely, Jesus himself) is Lord or Master of the Sabbath day.

Taking up these affirmations in their order, there can be no difference of opinion among those who accept the authority of

Jesus as to this, that whatever they mean is true as to the Sabbath. It is settled once for all time that the Sabbath was made, that is, that it was authoritatively established or constituted. Turning to the oldest records of the race, we find it mentioned among the first things concerning which a record has been made. It is there named as instituted on the seventh day, the day after the six days of creative work, the day after the creation of the first human pair. It was perhaps proclaimed to them as the sixth day declined and merged into the seventh day, so that the Sabbath could be observed in its fullest measure in the primeval purity and fervor of the first full paradisaic day. It was therefore set apart and hallowed as a rest-day when there were but two of human kind upon the earth, and these two the parents of all succeeding generations. It was therefore instituted for the whole race. It "was made for man," that is, for mankind, universal man. And this affirmation made by our Lord comes in very opportunely to fix authoritatively the true interpretation of Gen. ii, 3: "And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it;" that is, set it apart from the other days, consecrated it, devoted it to his worship and service. It may farther appear that this definite statement that "the Sabbath was made for man" clearly indicates that the time of the instituting or making of the Sabbath to which he here especially refers is this first biblical mention of it in Genesis, which certainly antedated all other enactments or re-affirmations whatsoever of this law.

It was not therefore a merely local ordinance or provision. The authority by which it was made was perfectly competent to make it, and there was not and is not a possibility of questioning the Maker's right or power in the matter. It seems also fairly evident that the pristine man needed this weekly cessation from his horticultural toil, a weekly rest for worship and praise, for true quiet and recuperation after the labors of the secular week. For the very provision made in the "tree of life" seems to indicate that there were tendencies to the wasting of vital force and energy which required compensation; and the recurrent nights might not have then been sufficient for that purpose, as they are not now, but needed to be supplemented by this entire day to keep up the deathlessness of the human body.

What were the specific details which were attached to the order to "keep holy" the rest-day in its first institution can only be surmised from its subsequent history, especially that which is connected with the exodus and wilderness life of Israel. It is not, perhaps, saying too much to affirm that there was only a re-enactment of this institution at the giving of the decalogue. The language used in that case with respect to the Sabbath clearly indicates its previous existence and observance, and the people's knowledge of its obligation. The language by which it is introduced is peculiar to this statute. No other commandment begins with this word, "Remember," and this expression therefore gives to the enactment a special prominence, a prominence characteristic in all Jewish history. It is at once apparent that the statute partakes of the nature of a caution or warning against their falling into forgetfulness and disuse of the Sabbath under the exigencies and peculiarities of their newly acquired freedom and embryonic nationalization, as well as the giving to the observance legal authority or enactment. "Remember," that is, do not forget to keep holy the Sabbath, or rest-day. They must have had previous knowledge of it, since they could neither call to remembrance nor forget that of which they had not had previous knowledge. "Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day"—that is, *the day after* the sixth day of labor, which might possibly under some circumstances be the first day of the week—"is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God," that is, instituted or set apart by Jehovah thy God. There is in it also a distinct reference to its origin in the statement that "in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it." This reference may also justify the inference that the character of the observance and hallowing of the day therein noted were substantially such as had hitherto been well known to them, and that it had been so observed, the enumeration of particulars being now made, as in other cases, to give definiteness, and that they might be on record as their statute law, and as such made nationally as well as morally obligatory upon Israel. It had now, therefore, to the Israelites this additional Jehovistic recognition and renewal of moral obligation and legal force, while it lost nothing

whatever thereby of its force as binding upon man universal; but rather had this additional authoritative indication, that a government constituted in accordance with the will of Jehovah, and conforming its statutes to his original purposes, must embody this provision of a hallowed rest on the seventh day after six successive days devoted to secular pursuits.

That it had an existence, and was known and recognized by other peoples prior to the exodus, seems to be established beyond doubt by the "records of the past," which have been exhumed from the buried cities of the Orient. Richard A. Proctor finds the evidence of its being observed among the Egyptians so strong that he concluded that Israel derived their knowledge of it from them, while the Egyptians, he thinks, derived their knowledge of it from the Chaldeans. But why the Israelites, whose ancestor, Abraham, was a Chaldean, should be indebted to Egypt for a Chaldean observance is difficult to be understood; and it seems much more rational to affirm that all people in these early ages had retained either traditionally or otherwise a knowledge of the original Edenic institution. "The idea of a Sabbath was certainly known to the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians. The word Sabbath appears in the Assyrian inscriptions under the form 'Sabbattu' — meaning 'a day of rest for the heart.' And the days on which the quarters of the moon began are called 'days of Sulam,' that is, 'rest.' On the Sabbath the king makes his offering, sacrifice, and worship to the gods." Other evidences to this effect may be found in Fradenburgh's *Witnesses from the Dust*, and the volumes of the *Records of the Past.* These statements may serve to illustrate our Lord's expression, that "the Sabbath was made for man," and justify the interpretation that he intended thereby to indicate its universal obligation.

It may further appear that if the Sabbath "was made for man," as man, wherever found, it certainly was so made that the obligation to observe it as a holy day of rest was laid upon him. It was not made to be disregarded, to be abrogated or annulled at pleasure. It was certainly not made to be improperly used or abused to the injury of any human being. It was intended to be for his benefit, to subserve his highest interests and welfare. It was the purpose that it should be used in accordance with the will, and as directed by the instructions of the Maker.

In the exercise of his free will, man may disregard it, or may use it improperly; but that does not relieve him of his obligation, nor does it free him from guilt for neglect or violation. His responsibility is by this very freedom made all the greater and more rational.

That the natural world continues the same on the Sabbath as on other days gives no reason justifying a continuance by man of labor on that day. The Sabbath was not made for nature. If it had been, all nature would have strictly obeyed the law. If it had been ordered by Jehovah that the flowers should not bloom on the Sabbath not a rose would have exhibited its painted leaf, or exhaled its grateful perfume on the rest-day, from the first Sabbath until this hour. Every atom would have ceased its movement on that day, and the stillness and quiet of perfect rest would have fallen upon all the works of God, if he had so ordered. Inanimate and irresponsible nature is the creature, or absolutely under the control of, law, and never violates or neglects the mandate of Jehovah. To man only, upon earth, does this bad pre-eminence belong, that his glorious prerogative is prostituted to disobedience and violation of his Maker's law. The declaration of Jesus that "the Sabbath was made for man," and for man only, clearly affirms what had been previously known, but seems in their isolation of themselves to have been partially forgotten by the Jews, that the sabbatic law was not simply Jewish or local, but was of universal obligation. So far was Jesus from weakening its sanctions or narrowing its application that he broadened the views of his auditors by declaring this universality of application and obligation, thus bringing it into harmony with the Gospel kingdom, which intends that its institutes shall be for all mankind, and thus he virtually re-enacts the Sabbath law as a statute for that kingdom.

But the converse of this statement must also be guarded against, lest all the employments of life and all the duties and obligations of men should be subordinated on the other days of the week to this one day or purpose of rest. Man was not made "for," that is, on account of, "the Sabbath." The Sabbath had no existence until after man came, and therefore man was not made simply to furnish a subject for Sabbath-keeping, or for the application of a sabbatic law. A Sabbath seems to

have been a necessity for him even in his best condition, but he was not made on account of any necessity for a Sabbath. There are none else on earth to whom it may apply, and this law affects other existences and material things not as themselves responsible, but only as they are related to man; as, for example, exempting the "cattle" for that day from the work and labor which is imposed upon them in the service of man, and affecting inanimate things only as they may be disused; as in the case of machinery and various implements employed in secular life, which must cease their movements in order that man may rest.

But man is also under other laws. There are other things which require his service and attention. If man had been made for the Sabbath, that is, for "rest" only, then the equally obligatory law, "Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work," could have had no existence or application as to him. While the injunction to hallow one day as a day of holy rest is imperative, it is equally important and imperative that man should remember that other days are not Sabbaths, or rest-days; that he was not made for Sabbaths, but has need to use the other six days as days of work, and in the employments of secular life. Other days have other duties and other necessities to supply—other wants to meet. Even the Sabbath itself, by its relations to the objects and purposes for which it was instituted, had its exceptions to the general rule. Thus, as we have seen, there is the case of the priests who do the work necessary to their functions, and which are appointed and enjoined by the same authority as was the Sabbath. There is the law of necessity, as illustrated in the case of David, when he and his men were hungry, eating the show-bread, a manifest infraction of a law established by the same Jehovah. So there is the demand of mercy, the case of suffering, whether of man or beast, as illustrated in the palsied man and the sheep fallen into a pit. All such special circumstances have their place, and indeed are provided for as matters of exigency and emergency, and are not to be disregarded, nor the relief afforded to be construed as criminal violation of the letter and spirit of the law, which, being made on account of man universal, must be interpreted in that light.

But our Lord's remark that man was not made for the Sab-

bath may also be intended to guard against the introduction of other and more frequently recurring holy days or holidays—days of rest and cessation from labor. He may have seen that in the prosperity and elevation which would be characteristic of the dispensation which he was then establishing there would corruptly be a tendency to the multiplication of such days to an extent that would encourage thriftlessness and idleness, and all the evils that flow therefrom.

Our Lord seems to intimate that the extreme ritualism of the Pharisees tended to the too great multiplication of days on which men were induced, under the idea of a religious duty, to abandon their secular employments and keep holiday more frequently than the appointed one day in seven. The disastrous effects of such days too frequently occurring were felt in pagan Rome when the multitude demanded "bread and the circus," and for the most part, where papal Rome has dominated, the same demand for amusements, the same squalid poverty, the same thriftlessness of the masses have followed, and are largely to be accounted for by the partial secularization of the Sunday sacred day, and the partial or complete sabbatizing of so many of the days which were intended for secular pursuits and for securing the necessaries and comfort of our temporal life.

The fact that man was not made for the Sabbath certainly affords no ground upon which to base a right to reject the Sabbath if the converse is true, that "the Sabbath was made for man" universal, the whole race. If the Sabbath was made for man—was instituted and established on his account by the wise and benevolent Jehovah—the merely negative statement that man was not made on account of the Sabbath neither detracts from the value to him of that day nor diminishes his obligation to use it according to the manner and purpose of the Maker as well of it as of man himself. It rather intimates that this was but one of the duties to be remembered. That to rest on a sacred day for mental, moral, and religious edification, after six days of secular toil and labor, was and is a part of his obligation; but that he was not made for rest simply and purely, but was also to remember that other obligations rested upon him, and that he must share in the activities, the labors, the wearisome toil which the wants of mankind render absolutely necessary. This is in perfect consonance with the decalogue,

and is perhaps but another way of putting it as a rebuke to the tendency of that age to the multiplication of rest-days, or semi-religious holidays. "The Sabbath was made for man" may be considered the equivalent of the monition, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy;" while the negative, "not man for the Sabbath," may equally illumine the command, "Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work;"—a necessary sequence of the general principle or prediction enunciated in man's primeval day—"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread;" by toil and laborious exertion obtain sustenance both for body and mind.

It was, perhaps, a great surprise to the Jews that, after making these statements, the Son of the carpenter of Nazareth, under the frequently used title of one of the greatest of their prophets, should arrogate to himself the Lordship over this whole matter of Sabbath law and observance. They did not now ask him, as upon another occasion, "Who is this Son of man?" but well understood that "he spake of himself." The claim is, in fact, partly based upon that which the expression "Son of man" may in his case be understood to cover, namely, his relation to the entire family of man. His relation was that of the Redeemer, the Saviour of the world, that is, of mankind, and his legislation must therefore be for the entire race. But back of all this there lay in the expression, "Lord of the Sabbath day also," a latent reference to his pre-existent authority when, as Jehovah, he himself had at the close of his creative work enacted it for all, and through the ministry of Moses made it a part of Jewish law. This was probably not then recognized by his critics, but they do not seem to have questioned his claim or denied his right, a right which they may have supposed him to assert as being a part of the prerogatives of the Messiah or Christ which they knew he was said to be; a claim which they did not then attempt to dispute; and indeed they seem, for some reason not clearly defined, to have queried among themselves as to whether the Christ or Messiah and "the Son of man" were not one and the same person. John xii, 34.

But whatever may have been the thought of his Jewish auditors, and whatever may have been their reason for no further questioning after this positive assertion of rightful sovereign authority, there can be no possible doubt in the mind of a

believing or Christian reader that this lordship over this, as over every other statute or law and principle, was justly claimed and really inherent in Jesus, the Son of David, but only because he was the Son of God. His authority is by us recognized as absolute and paramount.

It would seem now that if he had intended to abrogate the Sabbath law the circumstances were eminently favorable for doing it at this very time, or at least for giving notice that it was his purpose to change or modify, to relax or abolish, the requirements of the law as the case might be. Manifestly he did nothing of the kind. He recognized the law in all its force, and defended the action of his disciples as being in perfect accord with it. Not a syllable in this remarkable conversation can be rightly construed as indicating any modification of its essential provisions or any change in its requirements. He rather adds to it the authority which emanates from his willingness to so far bring himself under the obligation of obedience to it as to enter upon a defense of the action of his disciples, and thereby of his own Sabbath-day miracles, as not to refuse to be judged by this law, but to make his defense under and in accordance with this law, and the laws which were of equal authority, so that a rest-day after six days of labor—the essential feature of the law as to the particular day—is in effect re-enacted for the new kingdom of God by his authority. There is here no repeal of the law, but a substantial affirmation of it, and we may submit that what is true in this case is true of all that bears upon the question in the gospels. It may be confidently affirmed that there is not a word in any of the utterances of Jesus recorded by the evangelists which has in the least degree the appearance of a repeal or modification of the provisions of the decalogue as to the characteristics and duties of the day of rest to be kept and hallowed by mankind. The omission of any reference to this law in the sermon on the mount may be accounted for by this very fact of its perpetuity; that it had been established at the beginning of man's domination, had continued throughout the ages, and was intended to stand in its integrity as a necessary part of the statutes of the everlasting kingdom.

And in this connection it may be well to say that neither is there any intimation of the abrogation of the commandment

requiring the observance of the rest-day in the Acts of the Apostles, nor in any of the epistles, nor in the Apocalypse; and that the advice to the Colossians to "let no man judge" them "in respect of the sabbath days" does not refer to the commandment itself, but to their being subject to "ordinances after the commandments and doctrines of men;" being simply a caution, and emphasizing a rejection of human additions or interpretations, the uninspired customs and traditions of the Jews. Col. ii, 16, 20–23. And the same or similar may be said of Rom. xiv, 5, etc.; Gal. iv, 9, 10; Eph. ii, 15. For if we apply them to the Sabbath, or rest-day, we must give up all inspired authority for both a seventh day rest and for a first day or Sunday rest, and consider every thing of that kind abolished. In that case we must leave all such matters to the mere will or pleasure of the individual without penalty for neglect or reward for observing. But this would abolish or do away with what our Lord plainly tells us was "made for man," namely, an obligatory rest-day, and would also flatly contradict the declaration of Heb. iv, 9, "There remaineth [abideth] a keeping of a rest-day [a Sabbath] for the people of God." The things which were not obligatory were the rabbinical expositions and interpretations, the Jewish uninspired ordinances, comments, or additions, and illustrations of the fourth commandment, as well as of other inspired laws.

When Jesus made this utterance the time had not yet come when it was practicable to transfer the duties from the seventh to the first day of the week, a transfer which his lordship made rightful if made on his authority and example. It is, however, to be emphasized now, that the fourth commandment is specific in the direction that it is the seventh day, after six days of secular toil or labor, which is to be kept as the holy day of rest. To the Jew this day was and now is the Saturday—the last day of the week, as the days are now numbered among us. But it may be noted, also, that nowhere does our Lord use the expression "seventh day" as descriptive or designating the day of rest; neither is that numeral applied to the Sabbath day anywhere in the New Testament; an indication, perhaps, that that particular day of the week was not the essential thing to be retained in the New Testament legislation. It has been, therefore, the Christian usage from apostolic times to take for sabbath

purposes the first day of the week, Sunday, "the queen of days," and treat it substantially as was required of the Jewish Sabbath, only differing as Christianity differs from Judaism. How this change may have occurred may readily be shown. There can be no question but that the apostles and Jewish Christians at first kept the Saturday Sabbath as a sacred rest-day, or at least as a day on which they ceased their secular work, somewhat, perhaps, as the Jew of this day keeps both Saturday and Sunday. On the Saturday they seem to have mingled with the Jews in their synagogues, and to some extent also with the worshipers in the temple service, so far, at least, as they could without compromising their Christian character and profession. The keeping of Saturday as a Sabbath while on Jewish soil was compulsory; that of Sunday was wholly voluntary, but absolutely necessary for the establishment of the new Church and the furtherance of the interests of Christ's kingdom. It is certain that they could not have held the services and administered the ordinances peculiar to Christianity on the Jewish Sabbath, and at the same time have mingled with the Jews on that day, and joined with them even in such parts of their worship and religious service as would not compromise their character and integrity, or faithfulness to the kingdom of Jesus Christ. A different day from that observed by the Jews as a holy rest-day was an absolute necessity for their distinctively Christian assemblies, worship, and evangelism. There might, however, also be to the apostles the inducement to voluntarily keep the Saturday Sabbath that it gave them the special opportunities and facilities needed for their work of converting and proselyting the Jewish people to the new faith. When, however, the synagogues were closed to them, and they could no longer safely worship in the temple, there would be a natural tendency, even in the absence of any specific direction or authority from Jesus, to drop out the seventh and adhere to the first day, the day hallowed by the stupendous miracle of the resurrection of their Lord, and by his personal presence in their assemblies, and continue to hold it as their day for religious worship and services now peculiar to the followers of Christ. What they did must be held to be authoritative, and the displacement of the one day by the other, whether done by precept or by practice, if done by the apostles had sure warrant of

authority from our Lord in the twice-repeated conferring upon them the power to bind or to loose in his kingdom.

Thus they would have their seventh day's rest after six days of secular toil; only, in the transition period, having dropped out one day of secular work, giving that day to the memory of their risen Lord Christ, the Son of God, but completing the six days of labor again when the Jewish Sabbath day was made a part of the secular week, thus making what had hitherto been called the first, the seventh day, after six days of secular labor. Thus it would seem that all assemblies for what was distinctively Christian worship were held on the first day of the week. There does not appear to have been any distinctively Christian ecclesia held by the apostles on the Jewish Sabbath after the resurrection of Christ.

It further appears for the most part that these gatherings on the first day of the week, during the period between the resurrection and ascension, were favored with the appearance and presence of Christ himself; and it may also be noted as a significant coincidence that there is no record that Jesus after his resurrection ever appeared on the Saturday Sabbath in the Jewish temple or synagogue, or at any assembly of the Jews or any other people on that day, or in any way whatever manifested any regard for the Jewish seventh day Sabbath—facts which stand out strongly as indicating his sanction to the keeping of that first day of the week as against the custom of the Jews.

The direction given by the apostles to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xvi, 2), that every one should on the first day of the week lay by him in store as God had prospered him, indicates that this day followed the close of their weekly labors, and that this first day of the week was the time when they met together for their worship and to transact the business of the Church. It seems evident that what is referred to by "as God hath prospered him" is the compensation received for the previous week's work, and the amount which out of that compensation could be spared for Church purposes, which was to be measured by the prosperity of the previous six days. Thus we have an indication that even in the apostolic times the Gentile Churches did not regard the Jewish Sabbath, but did attend to the Church matters on the first day of the week.

Our Lord's connection with the Sunday rest-day seems clearly

indicated by the use of the term "the Lord's day" by John (Rev. i, 10), which either was then the commonly used name for the "first day of the week," Sunday, or from that use of it that title passed as a descriptive appellation for that day as a day of sacred rest to the Christian Church, and has continued from that age to this as designating that day as a holy day of rest, having the same obligations and the same and similar duties and purposes as had the day of the week held by the Jewish nation.

In this connection it may also be of service to refer to a somewhat singular parenthetic interruption to the course of the discussion in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. A prime feature in that book is manifestly the intention of the writer to impress upon his Hebrew auditory the typical and therefore temporary nature of the Jewish ritual institute. The principle seems to be that a type is of validity and authoritative, or intended to stand, until the appearance of the antitype, or that which the type prefigures, or instead of which the type is used. When the antitype comes, then that takes the place of the type and its functions cease—the typical is then useless. Thus the sacrificial system, its priests, and "lamb without blemish" were the types of which Christ was the antitype, and at his coming and the consummation of his work ceased to be of force, "waxed old, and vanished away." So the "rest" which was to be attained in Canaan under the leadership of Joshua was also of typical import, prefiguring the rest to be attained through faith in the Joshua or Jesus of the new dispensation. But in running the parallelism between the "rest" promised under Joshua and that to be attained through Jesus, it seems to have occurred to the writer that this typical institute, the Sabbath, having run on from the creation, and partaking of a nature both commemorative and typical, reaching backward as well as forward—commemorative of the Creator's rest and typical of the rest to be attained by faith and to be enjoyed in that Canaan or "Jerusalem which is above"—differed essentially from the other institutions; they typifying the earthly, this the heavenly; and consequently was the one typical institution that cannot pass away, this as yet not having found its antitype, nor can find that which it prefigures until all redeemed and transformed humanity shall "enter into the rest that remain-

eth for the people of God." Moses had recorded the historic fact that "God did rest the seventh day from all his works;" but inasmuch as "the Sabbath was made for man" as well as for the Creator, that did not fulfill all the purposes of the "rest-day," nor become its antitype; and after a long period God again speaks in the inspired utterance of David, and "limiteth" or "defineth"—fixes definitely upon—"a certain day," that is, upon another day, for if it had been the same day there would have been no need at that late period to have "limited" or "defined" it, seeing it was well known and duly honored. Evidently, that certain day was to take the place of the day previously mentioned and observed, it having failed of its fulfillment, not having reached its antitype. "For if Joshua had given them rest"—if the rest prefigured by that of the seventh day had found its fruition or fulfillment—"then would not" God "so long afterward have spoken of another day;" and the conclusion follows, therefore, that "there remaineth" or abideth, as a permanent institution, a typical institution whose antitype has not and cannot come until the close of this dispensation—"a rest," or, more literally, a sabbatizing or sabbath rest-day to the people of God, that is, to Christians, and to be enforced by Christian nations, on that other day indicated, limited, and defined in this divine utterance and identified by its recognition by Christ and the apostles as their day of rest and religious assembly for preaching and worship, the first day of the week after six days of secular or ministerial toil and pursuits. To say the very least, the mention of "another day," as contradistinguished from the seventh day as a day of sabbatizing, taken in connection with the usage of the apostles and the continuous acceptance of the first day of the week as a sacred rest-day by the Christian Church from the apostles' day downward, must be held as remarkably significant of the recognition by this writer of the change of day as being of divine authority, and having the warrant of inspired prediction and institution.

JOSEPH HORNER.

Art. VI.—"ELIJAH THE TISHBITE" A GENTILE.

To the biblical student any light which may lead to a better understanding of any portion of the word of God may be assumed to be welcome. Without presumptuously asserting ability to shed clearer light on the teaching of that word respecting the wonderful man whose name heads this page, the writer desires briefly to present the reasons which led him several years ago to the conclusion that this most prominent prophet of Israel was not of Hebrew, but of Gentile race.

There are few of God's more distinguished servants of whom so little is known as of the prophet Elijah: and none, perhaps, of whom men so much desire to know more. This appears the more strange when we recollect that he was the chosen type of our Lord's immediate forerunner. Yet, as it is written of Melchizedek, king of Salem, it may be emphatically declared of him, "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life." He has ever been a perplexing mystery.

It is a proverb that circumstances make men, not men circumstances. So we suppose it to have been with Elijah. He would seem to have been a solitary man, fond of the companionship of his own thoughts; of strong emotions, both tender and stern; of an ascetic piety; given to brooding over the spiritual defections of the people, and especially alive to the dishonor done to God by the then prevailing idolatry. At times such thoughts would seem to have become as fire shut up in his bones, and when he gave vent to his feelings he did it in strong language. As he thought in his heart so was he.

Although not, we think, of Israelitish blood, Elijah was not a stranger to, but an ardent and faithful follower of, the true God. He, as was Melchizedek, and probably anterior to him were the patriarch Job and his friends, is a striking example that the Lord rarely long left himself without living witnesses among men of his true character and being: men who so truly conceived of God as to ascribe to him dominion and power and praise, and who enjoyed a consciousness of his favor. How they came by this knowledge of God, or to what extent that knowledge prevailed, we cannot say; but it is hardly question-

able that traditions respecting Noah and his God had found lodgment in many hearts, and had produced therein like precious faith to that which actuated the Hebrew patriarch Abraham, and the influence of which extended in certain cases to the days of which we treat. Such a person we deem Elijah to have been.

It is a rule of biblical interpretation that, when a word or phrase is repeatedly used in a well-defined and consistent sense, that sense shall be taken as its signification in the few passages in which a different rendering *may* be given to it, unless such usual interpretation is manifestly at variance with its import in that particular case.

The prevalent opinion respecting the nationality of Elijah had its rise in the neglect of this rule of interpretation. A word which in all other places in the Hebrew Old Testament is consistently used to denote a person of foreign race or nation, in one place, and that the only passage in which the nationality of that person is made the subject of special statement, is strangely perverted by a mistranslation. The popular mind would naturally assume that a prophet to the Jews was a Hebrew by race, and this assumption has been strengthened by the inconsistent rendering referred to; whereas the fact is, that the text strongly intimates that Elijah was a stranger to the Hebrew people. Below we assign a few reasons for this belief.

The Hebrew word תּוֹשָׁב (*toh-shahv*), in the Authorized Version of 1 Kings xvii, 1, improperly rendered *of the inhabitants of*, occurs in the Old Testament fourteen times. It is translated once (Exod. xii, 45) *foreigner;* three times (Lev. xxv, 6, 45, 47) *stranger;* nine times (Gen. xxiii, 4; Lev. xxii, 10; xxv, 23, 35, 40, 47; Num. xxxv, 15; 1 Chron. xxix, 15; Psa. xxxix, 12) *sojourner.* The fourteenth is the passage quoted from 1 Kings xvii, 1. These recitals show, in eleven of the passages cited, that the term is used of persons alien in birth to the Jews, and therefore excluded from certain privileges peculiar to them; in one case of a person of another race of men than the one addressed, and therefore having no claim of right to a privilege sought; and in the other two cases of persons of a different nature to the Being addressed. One of the ideas present in every case is that of *exclusion from privileges* because of non-fitness

from alien birth. The argument we draw from these cases is, that as Elijah is designated by the *same term of exclusion*, he, too, is to be classed among the non-privileged because of like inability—non-relationship to the privileged class; consequently he is not entitled to rank therein. In addition it should be borne in mind that in the Hebrew Scriptures the terms *stranger* and *sojourner* are never used by Jews of a brother Jew. We think it follows in all fairness of criticism that Elijah, who is expressly designated in the Revised Version a *sojourner*, was not a Hebrew.

Two incidents affecting Elijah, recorded in the earlier verses of chapter xvii of 1 Kings, are worthy of special note. The former of these is, his being miraculously fed by the ravens. The grown-up raven is deemed by all civilized people to be unfit for human food because of its proclivity for feeding on carrion, or decayed flesh, by which its own flesh is rendered unwholesome. In addition to this, that food which it caught and carried to its nest for its own eating or that of its young, even if fresh and pure, must to a Jew have been rendered unclean because of the talons and mandibles of the raven —its only means of seizing, holding, and carrying food—being constantly polluted through their necessary connection with carrion, the raven's natural and preferred food. Of this we must suppose there would be at this time an abundant supply from the numerous deaths of animals from starvation through the prevailing famine. The above-named objections to the raven, as a purveyor of such fresh food as it seized, would to a non-Israelite, such as we deem Elijah to have been, be a matter of little or no concern, but is fatal to the conception of him as a Jew.

The other incident to which we refer as noteworthy is the sending of Elijah, when the brook Cherith dried up, to the widow at Zarephath to be cared for. "Arise, get thee to Zarephath, which belongeth to Zidon, and dwell there: behold, I have commanded a widow woman there to sustain thee." This woman we take to have been a heathen; a native of the country in which she dwelt, and consequently a subject of Ethbaal, king of Zidon, who was the father of Jezebel, Ahab's wife. But why send him there? Probably because, 1) Elijah and the hostess to whose care he was committed were non-Israelites; and, 2) Because of the greater security of the

prophet from the wrath of Ahab, Elijah being much less likely to be there sought for than among any of the tribes of Israel.

The sacred historian's introduction of Elijah to our notice is the most graphic and startling of any thing of the kind recorded in holy writ. Without the slightest notice of his existence or of his mission, he as suddenly and unexpectedly bursts upon the vision as might a flash of lightning from a clear sky. And, sudden as is his appearance, equally appalling are the words he utters: "As the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years but according to my word." Whether Ahab were now surrounded by courtiers in his palace, or holding court in the gate of the city, or worshiping in Baal's temple, or what about or where about, we are not told. The uncouth form was seen, the deep voice heard, and the apparition vanished. We cannot better convey to the reader's mind our conception of this unique scene than by a quotation from Dr. George Lansing Taylor's recent poem of Elijah:

"The Tishbite dread, Elijah, stands in Ahab's ivory hall.
His cloak the skin of mountain goat, his robe a mohair pall;
His garb around his sinewy loins a rawhide belt confined;
His hair and beard, like raven plumes, streamed dark along the wind.
A strong acacia's spiky stem, scarce smoothed, was in his hand;
His feet were fleshless, callous, bare, and tawny as the sand;
His brow, a beetling crag, o'erhung his swart and shaggy chest,
And 'neath its shade his eyes glanced keen as eagles' from their nest.
Remote from courts, corruption, crime, in that high, shepherd land,
With God alone, his soul has grown to stature bold and grand;
From Jacob's seed, or Jokshan's stock, unknown,* he stands God's seer;
The Highlander of prophecy, God's glorious mountaineer.
For many a wild, in many a land, and many a peak sublime,
Can tell how solitude with God breeds souls that conquer time."

The exceeding brevity and abruptness of Elijah's speech to Ahab, as recorded 1 Kings xvii, 1, strongly suggest that the divine historian has given us but the merest outlines of a more protracted interview. It will be noticed that there is in the record given no statement of Jehovah's ground of grievance and of judgment; no attempt to show Ahab his crime, or to win him from his idolatry; not even an acknowledgment of

* There is much ground in the general character and conduct of Elijah to suggest that he was not a Hebrew, but of some of the other Abrahamides settled on the eastern frontier of Palestine.—*G. L. T.*

Elijah being commissioned to declare a swiftly-coming judgment. All these omissions suggest a previous knowledge of Elijah by Ahab, and a fuller remonstrance with the idolatrous king of Israel, either then or at some previous interview, than is here given. As the matter now stands there seems to be an irreverence and presumptuousness about it altogether unlike any thing to be elsewhere found in the book of God, and far from that "reverence" which is enjoined upon "all them that fear Him." We must, therefore, suppose that there is furnished in 1 Kings xvii, 1, but an exceedingly limited, though spirited, notice of a fuller and much more protracted conversation.

If, however, Elijah's manifestation were sudden and abrupt, his departure from the king's presence seems to have been no less so. Without the slightest courtesy to the monarch the prophet (as though his mind were fully absorbed by the terrible import of his mission) curtly delivers his message and is gone! The awe his fearful threatening momentarily inspired probably checked any attempt to detain him by king, courtiers, or guard. On recovering from their surprise, it may be that the recollection of the uncouth and wild appearance of the hair-clad prophet provoked some witty remark or taunt, but when the time for the periodical rains came and passed, and no refreshing showers had fallen, anxiety would take the place of carelessness or gayety. And as season after season went by without moisture, and the parched earth yielded little or no fruit—for dew as well as rain was withheld—despair must have filled the bosom of the people. But they repented not, nor humbled themselves before Jehovah. In their sufferings they may have called on their stupid gods, but most assuredly in vain. None but Elijah could bring them relief, and him they could not find. It was probably during this season of protracted suffering that the eager search for the missing prophet spoken of by Obadiah in chapter xviii, 10, was made.

Having left Ahab in his bewilderment, the voice of God in Elijah's inmost consciousness was now, "Go eastward, and hide by the brook Cherith, which is before Jordan."* The

* It was not unusual with the Hebrews to speak of the east as lying "before," and of the west as lying "behind" one. So Gen. xxiii, 17, 19, "*before* Mamre," meaning *east* of Mamre: Gen. xxv, 18, "Shur, that is *before* Egypt . . . toward Assyria," evidently *east* of Egypt, toward Assyria; 1 Kings xi, 7, "In the hill that

Jordan lay east of Ahab's residence, whether he were now at Samaria or at his summer palace at Jezreel. The term rendered "before" Jordan was, doubtless, understood by Elijah to denote *east* of Jordan, in accordance with a well-known usage of the word to that effect, and agreeing with the express command to go "eastward." We presume Elijah understood this command to be an order to return to Gilead, among some one of the valleys of which he may have known the brook Cherith to be situated.*

How long Elijah remained at the Cherith is not known; but probably not less than six months, nor more than twelve. We cannot suppose him to have been anxious as to the result, for he knew he had yet to unseal the bottles of heaven, and instrumentally to give bread to the thousands of famishing

is *before* Jerusalem," meaning the Mount of Olives, which lies *east* of the city. Such instances can be easily multiplied. We are aware that Dr. Edward Robinson (*Researches in Palestine*), Dr. Mendenhall (*Echoes from Palestine*), and many others suppose the Cherith to have been west of the Jordan, and locate it at the Wady Kelt, west of Jericho. We deem them in error in so locating the brook. Dr. Thomson, in *The Land and the Book* (8vo edition, vol. ii. p. 398), tries to adopt his friend Robinson's view, but admits "that the brook Cherith is said to be *before* Jordan, which is usually understood as meaning *east* of Jordan." "Eusebius and Jerome place it east of the Jordan."—*Smith's Dict. of the Bible.* Schwarz, the noted Jewish rabbi, in his Geography, places the Cherith on the eastern side of the Jordan, south of Mahanaim. On p. 234 he says: "Jabesh-Gilead is the modern village Jabes, on the Wady Jabes, which falls into the Jordan. It is ten miles east from Jordan, in a direction opposite to Beth-shean."

* Herzog, in his *Real-Encyclopædie*, speaking of Gilead, says: "Somewhere in the wild but fertile and beautiful district of northern Gilead, which is bounded on the north by the brook Yarmock, which separates it from Bashan on the north, and the Jabbok, which divides it from southern Gilead on the south, the great prophet was [probably] born. It is even thought that the locality is now identified. In the fourteenth century Parchi, a learned Jewish traveler, heard of it, and considered it the birthplace of Elijah.[1] In 1876 it was found and identified by Dr. Selah Merrill, archæologist of the American Exploration Fund Society. The name of the place is El-Istib, which Dr. Van Dyck, of Beyrout, pronounces the exact Arabic equivalent of Tishbi. It is in the Wady Mareh, which opens northward into the Wady Yabis, which in turn opens westward into the Jordan valley. El-Istib (or Listib) is about twenty-two miles in an air-line south of the Lake of Galilee, some ten miles east of the Jordan, and some six miles south-east of ancient Pella. The brook Cherith was probably in the same immediate neighborhood, though no relic of the name has yet been discovered."—Schaff's Herzog.

[1] Parchi was a noted Hebrew scholar and traveler of Provence, but driven from his country by the persecutions of the French king. While in Palestine he wrote his כפתור ופרח, which "treats of the topography of Palestine, and is especially valuable for the geography of the Holy Scriptures."—*McClintock & Strong.*

Israel. Though "a man of like passions with ourselves," he doubtless calmly and expectantly awaited the hour for the blessing of rain. "It is," says Kitto, "such slow processes as these that try faith most." Many persons will readily follow an ardent impulse in the performance of an heroic deed who lack the persistent courage and faith to stand unshaken in the face of continued depressing circumstances, which become apparently more and more hopeless as time wears on.

The brook having dried up, Elijah was directed to leave the Cherith and go to the extreme northern portion of Palestine, to "Zarephath, which belongeth to Zidon." The journey had doubtless to be performed stealthily, so as to avoid detection. It was probably taken on the eastern side of the Jordan, until the head-waters of that river were passed, then westward to Zarephath, which stood near the Mediterranean, some nine or ten miles south of Zidon. Its modern representative is a small collection of humble dwellings now called Sarphan.

Arriving at Zarephath, the prophet would expect his unknown hostess to be providentially brought to his notice, otherwise he could not recognize her. Consequently we read (1 Kings xvii, 10, 11):

> When he came to the gate of the city, behold, the widow woman was there gathering of sticks: and he called to her, and said, Fetch me, I pray thee, a little water in a vessel, that I may drink, [and] bring me, I pray thee, a morsel of bread in thine hand.

To this request she replied:

> I have . . . but a handful of meal in a barrel, and a little oil in a cruse: and I am gathering two sticks, that I may go in and dress it for me and my son, that we may eat it, and die.

From this declaration of the widow we must suppose that the drought, and consequent scarcity of both water and food, had extended to Zidon and its territory, though not to so severe an extent as in Israel. In order that the infliction might be perceived to be of God, and to be especially induced by Ahab's sin of idolatry, it would be fitting that Ahab's kingdom should suffer more than surrounding territory.

Elijah was the guest of his Canaanitish hostess for apparently two full years, during which time the widow, her child, and the prophet subsisted on the handful of meal and the little olive

oil in the cruse. We may suppose that twice each day, morning and evening, these receptacles were resorted to and well-nigh drained of provision; but always when again called on responded to the demand. There was still the "handful of meal" and the "little oil." We are reminded by this continued series of miracles of our Lord's feeding the five thousand men, besides women and children, with the five barley loaves (biscuits) and the two small fishes. John vi, 9. *There* was abundant consumption, with large increase; *here*, there was continued consumption without decrease. Each case, however, was alike under divine direction and control.

How Elijah was occupied during these months of seemingly enforced idleness we know not. But as he was in hiding from Ahab, we may rest assured he did not needlessly expose himself to the gaze of others. Still he was not without advantage to his benefactress; for it was for Elijah's sake that the meal and the oil failed not, to say nothing of the restoration to her of her dead, or dying, child. We doubt whether any servant of God can be so placed in life as to be totally unable to do any thing for the glory of God or the good of man. If the disposition be present the opportunity will not be lacking.

But we now adduce other and more conclusive evidence in favor of our claim. Early in the ministry of our Lord Jesus he preached in the synagogue at Nazareth, perhaps his first public discourse. In that address he took occasion to refer to two persons, one of them certainly a Gentile, the other we deem equally so. The two are adduced as illustrations of one and the same point: the wideness of the salvation he came to procure. These persons were "Elijah the prophet" and "Naaman the Syrian." Luke reports him as saying (chap. iv, 25–27):

> I say unto you, There were many widows in Israel in the days of Elijah, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when there came a great famine over all the land; and unto none of them was Elijah sent, but only to Zarephath, in the land of Sidon, unto a woman that was a widow. And there were many lepers in Israel in the time of Elisha the prophet; and none of them was cleansed, but only Naaman the Syrian.—*Revised Version.*

This establishes the fact of the Gentile origin of both the widow and Naaman, and strongly suggests Elijah to be of the same race.

But there is one other scene to which we must call the read-

er's attention: it is that of our Lord's transfiguration on Mount Hermon. Matthew, Mark, and Luke all describe this surpassing glory-scene.* We read that at that time there appeared Moses and Elijah, talking with Jesus about the decease (Revised Version, margin, *departure*) which he should accomplish at Jerusalem. For whom? According to the ordinarily received notion, and so far as the text suggests, if both Moses and Elijah were of Jewish race, for the Jews only—for in such case they were the only people there represented, or interested as parties concerned in that coming death; but according to the view herein urged, for Jew and Gentile, represented, the one race in the persons of Moses and the three disciples, the other, and more numerous, in the person of Elijah the prophet, himself of Gentile birth.

JOSEPH LONGKING.

REJOINDER.

The matured opinion advanced by Dr. Longking, that the prophet Elijah was not of Hebrew extraction, but a Gentile fulfilling the function of a Hebrew prophet, seems to us to rest upon untenable grounds.

1. That he is called a "sojourner" of Gilead does not imply that he was a Gileadite, or was of heathenish ancestry or relationship. Had it been stated that he was a "sojourner in Israel" the inference would be strong that he was originally a foreigner, and without the pale of Israel; but the language used implies, not that he was a foreigner in Israel, but a foreigner in Gilead. If the latter reading be correct, he was evidently of the Hebrew people. תּוֹשָׁב, *sojourner*, means *one who dwells in a country not his own.* Outside of the passage under consideration the word occurs thirteen times in the Hebrew Bible, in the most of which it is used to indicate a stranger dwelling in the midst of Israel. But in Psalm xxxix, 12, it is used for a pilgrim, and also in 1 Chron. xxix, 15, in the same sense: "We are . . . sojourners, as were all our fathers."

Elijah is called a *Tishbite*, that is, a native of Thisbe (Greek Θισβης), which according to the Book of Tobit was situated on the right of Kedesh, in Galilee (i, 2). It appears, then, that

* See Matt. xvii; Mark ix; Luke ix.

Elijah was said to be a "sojourner" (תּוֹשָׁב) because Gilead was not his native place. When it is remembered that King Ahab was his enemy, perhaps often coveting his life, and that Elijah as often fled from him and from the land of Israel, it is easy to account for his presence in Gilead as a place of safety from this outraged and murderously disposed ruler. According to 1 Kings xviii, 7, Obadiah was acquainted with the prophet, which is proof that he once lived in the kingdom of Israel; and it is further stated (verse 10) that Ahab had sought everywhere for him. It is plain enough from the whole history of the times that Elijah had been a faithful prophet of Jehovah in the kingdom of his people, and a severe reprover of the idolatry of Ahab previous to the sojourn in Gilead.

2. Because Elijah was fed with flesh by ravens (1 Kings xvii, 4–6), which the Israelites were forbidden to eat as being unclean (Lev. xi, 15), it does not follow that whatever ravens touched was rendered unclean. In Lev. xi, 24, 25, 31, 32, it is declared that whoever touches or bears the *carcass* of an animal unclean for food shall be rendered unclean, and whatever any of them when dead touches shall be unclean. It is also clear from the construction and context of Lev. xi, 26, that the *carcasses* of unclean animals, and not the *living* unclean animals, render things unclean by coming into contact with them. For can any suppose that a Hebrew was rendered unclean by touching a *living* camel, or an ass, both of which were unclean for food? or that whatever these animals bore, whether men or things, were rendered unclean? How, then, was the flesh brought by the ravens rendered unclean, and hence unfit for Elijah though he was a Hebrew? It will not be forgotten that the great sheet (Acts x) wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air, that Peter saw while in a trance, taught him not to call things common that God had cleansed; that is, he must not refuse the Gospel to the Gentiles, as God had not rejected them. Perhaps the raven may have taught Elijah the same lesson of religious toleration toward the Gentiles, to whom he fled when in danger, and who always treated him with a congenial civility. By nature he was austere and autocratic, and the outcast bird ministered unto him a Gentile lesson. The bird, not Elijah, was a Gentile.

3. The argument from the brook Cherith admits of two answers: (1.) The brook, as natives of Palestine informed us, is west of Jordan; (2.) if it were east of Jordan, it would prove no more than that Gilead is east of Jordan.

4. Christ's statement that the prophet was sent to Sarepta (belonging to Zidon) to a widow woman, according to 1 Kings xvii, 9, does not imply that Elijah was a Gentile, though the woman it seems was, any more than Elisha's cleansing Naaman, the Syrian leper, proves that the prophet was also a Gentile. Besides, the emphasis the Saviour places upon the incident relates more to the woman than to the prophet—more to her religious faith than to his devotion—and, while implying her nationality, is entirely reticent as to his country, birthplace, or prophetic office. The Gentile of the incident is, not Elijah, but the woman.

5. The argument from the transfiguration of Christ, more beautiful than the others, is more vulnerable, for it requires of Elijah a representative attitude better assumed by other parties in the scene. The significance of the presence of Moses and Elias on Mount Hermon at the time of the event is found in the representative function they together perform. As departed men they return to stand for a departed economy, while the living apostles represent the new and living dispensation. No living representatives of the old economy, as it was in the days of the law-giver and prophet, could be found; hence, they themselves are summoned to stand once again, and finally, for that which is now expiring. The living represent the living, as the departed represented the departing. Even if Peter, James, and John are not adequate exponents of a Gentile Gospel, the living, divinely illuminated Logos, having assumed human nature, fully represents humanity in its Gentile varieties, aspirations, and developments. Elijah as prophet does not disembody enough to stand for the Gentile world. In himself Peter is not enough, nor James, nor John, nor all, without Him from whom descend the life and light of men. Moses and Elijah represented one nation; the apostles, all nations. The former were tokens of law and order; the latter signs of the Gospel and its reign in all the world.

But, further, it is not at all likely that the Almighty would have authorized a Gentile to preach to the tribes of Israel, because

it would have reversed the original plan which contemplated preaching by the Hebrews to the Gentiles. So far as we know, all the other prophets were genuine Hebrews, and if Elijah was an exception to the rule, so notable a case would have been recorded, or some conspicuous reason assigned for the departure from the original course. In the record of Elijah it is difficult to find a single intimation, however, of his non-Hebrew descent, character, or relation, and the inference of his Gentile origin is as baseless as the fabric of a dream. Our Saviour himself selected his twelve apostles solely from among the Hebrew people, and at a time when the Gospel was to be opened to the Gentile world. Paul himself, though he was the apostle to the Gentiles, was a "Hebrew of the Hebrews."

In the conduct of Elijah, as a citizen, a "sojourner," and prophet, we discover nothing incompatible with his Hebrew nationality. When he was about to establish the sole sovereignty of Jehovah and confound the false prophets of Baal he took "twelve stones, according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob, unto whom the word of the Lord came, saying, Israel shall be thy name;" and with the stones he built an altar in the name of Jehovah; and he put the wood in order and cut the bullock in pieces. 1 Kings xviii, 31–33. In these acts he had special reference to the twelve tribes and to the law in Lev. i, 6–8. In his prayer the language uttered is, "Jehovah, God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, let it be known this day that thou art God in Israel." Verse 36. All this certainly indicates the feelings of a genuine Hebrew. Nor will the fact be overlooked that the prophet's name, אֵלִיָּהוּ, and the short form, אֵלִיָּה, Elijah, favors a Hebrew nationality.

Sympathizing with the theory of Dr. Longking, we have concluded, after a careful consideration of the grounds he presents for a change in the accepted belief of both the Jewish and the Christian Church respecting the nationality of Elijah, to hold fast to that we have received, and we exhort our readers to do the same. EDITOR.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

PARAGRAPHIC.

JOHN WESLEY'S theodicy is a theological heresy; an unconscious variation from the truth. The doctrine of the gain of sin, as openly taught in Sermon LXIV., is obnoxious in its accumulated assumptions, a perversion of the Scriptures adduced in support of it, and if adopted as explanatory of the world's irregularities must logically legitimate man's helpless disaster and render atonement unnecessary and void, or a make-shift for mischief that might have been prevented. He asserts that mankind in general have, by the fall of Adam, gained a capacity of being more holy and happy on earth, and of being more happy in heaven than otherwise would be possible. To declare the "unspeakable advantage" of the fall; to speculate on the innumerable benefits of natural and moral evil; to condemn our repining at Adam's transgression as the source of earth's woe; and to insist that man should glorify God because he instituted sin as the instrument of suffering, and by suffering of final elevation, is a doctrine to be rejected, not because of its Calvinistic texture, but because of its inner dissonance and the complete revolution it makes in theological logic. If evil is constitutionally or instrumentally good, or if it can be established that a sinful world is provisionally happier, it might be well to introduce the disciplinary régime of sin among the angels, for they are imperfect and distant in character from the perfections of God. A whiff of polluted atmosphere might sweep over the hills of immortality to good effect upon those who inhabit the heights. The reply is not apposite, that such a theory of sin as was propounded by Mr. Wesley has been accepted by the Arminian cult, for much of general theology needs the touch of the repairer. In condemning the Arminian apology for sin, whether accepted by Wesley or any other scholastic, we also eschew the theodicy of Jonathan Edwards and the Calvinian school of errorists, who in some subtle way would rejoice if the authorship of sin could be lodged in the divine mind. Sin is the *essentia* of opposition to God. He hates it, we hate it, and any defense of it savors of the pit whence it came.

The Jews are not a literary race. The only permanent literature that they have produced is the Bible—a book of more value than all other literatures, but which, exhibiting the birth-mark of a divine characterism upon every page, transforms its writers from authors into instruments. It is a little singular that so gifted a people should be so barren in culture and so little given to inquiry. Only occasionally, as in the ninth century, the eleventh, the seventeenth, and the eighteenth, have they paused in commercial pursuits to take an interest in Hebrew philology, and to con-

tribute to the learning of the times. Rival schools and rabbinical prejudices, together with the fact that the Hebrew is a closed language, have stagnated the investigating spirit, and quieted all desire for biblical exegesis among them. The Christians, however, influenced by the contagion of culture, have rescued the old language from the rabbins, and are so exhaustively examining it that it threatens to become a living language again, quite to the astonishment of the Hebrew conservatives and to the alarm of the progressives. In Germany, France, England, and the United States, the study of the Hebrew is almost as common as the study of the classics, and in the Church realm of far greater value. It is a simple language and therefore of easy acquisition; and as there are not more than six thousand Hebrew words in the Bible, a scholar can soon master them, with all the rules of construction and idiomatic forms. In Jewish history, philology, exegesis, poetry, and philosophy, the Christian scholar has already distanced the rabbi, who, dissatisfied with longer being in the rear, calls upon his brethren to study the New Testament, as the Christians are studying the Old Testament. He sees that Delitzsch, Dillman, Stanley, Harper, Ewald, Schurer, and Wunsche, as Christian historians, exegetes, and philologists in Hebrew, are unequaled by Jewish writers, and that in their hands the Hebrew is likely to be turned against them. It is not astonishing, therefore, that the progressives insist that the Greek New Testament must be investigated by them, but to us it appears like a providential plan, by which the thick-crusted mind of the obdurate race will be led to an apprehension of the truth as it is in Him whom they crucified.

Dr. McGlynn, the recusant priest, is not a success as a social reformer, nor popular as a politician, nor is he likely to become renowned as a heretic. His initial steps were misdirected or too hastily taken. Accepting excommunication as a proof of his heroism, he forfeited the adherence of Roman Catholics; but failing to espouse Protestantism, he acquired little aidful or compensative sympathy from that quarter. Religiously, he placed himself between two millstones, whose grinding has left their furrows upon him. Equally stupid was he in his political affiliations. Not a Democrat, he is denounced by the Democratic party; refusing allegiance to the Republican party, he is not winked at by its leaders; quarreling with Henry George, he is abandoned by his first and chief supporter; advocating the Union Labor party, he is the idol of a fragment, which is unable to do as much for him as he can do for it. Finding himself without a party, without a church, without cement, divided between attractions and repulsions, he has resorted to the lecture platform, discussing secular themes on Sunday evenings to an uncertain crowd, admitted at ten cents a head, and enjoying the deafening applause with which he is greeted. The element of perpetuity is wanting in his programme. The courses open to him are a drift into infidelity, which is not probable, an acceptance of Protestantism, of which there are no indications, and a return to Rome, with all that return implies, which may occur sooner than he himself now imagines to be possible.

The doctrine of the equality of souls, affirmed into prominence by all theologies, needs reconstruction. In immortality, in constituent elements, in rights under the Gospel, in a common heritage of grace, in a common fate in this world, and in a general responsibility to law and the throne that issued it, all souls are equal. In other respects, as in their absolute worth, their powers and functions, their possibilities and actualizations, they widely differ, and must be viewed as unequal. The commercial equality of souls is a monstrous error, having no support in history, none in the Scriptures, and is without sanction in experimental relations and conditions. Moses was worth more than Aaron; Daniel was more valuable than Nebuchadnezzar; Peter was not the equal of Paul in the sight of God or man; Luther was higher in the scale than Henry IV.; Boulanger is not the equal of Pressensé, nor John L. Sullivan the equal of Talmage; the besotted soul is inferior to the regenerated soul; the ignorant, image-broken soul is not to be compared with the saintly, self-sacrificing life of a missionary, or the holy endurance of a martyr. Commercially, souls are unequal, and should be graded according to their powers, developments, acquisitions, external connections, and biographical exhibitions. Let the truth of the inequality of souls have room in the theology of this departing century.

The American government should pension the successful scientific investigator, and the Church should pension its original theologians or thinkers. The thinker should be sure of patronage from the government or the Church. The French republic would honor itself, besides promoting the scientific spirit, by endowing M. Pasteur, the curer of rabies. Wagner, the musical revolutionist; Stanley, the explorer; Agassiz, the scientist; Palissy, the Huguenot potter; Edison, the inventor; Cyrus W. Field, the Atlantic cable projector; Longfellow, the American poet-laureate; Philip Schaff, the theologian; George Bancroft, the historiographer; Professor Albert Long, the translator—these, and such as these, have deserved the princely recognition of their governments and religions. It is not enough to commit their names to the custody of fame, for fame is fickle. Back of all scientific pursuit, of all inquiry into the realms of mind and matter, should be the encouragement of governmental and churchly support; for poverty is oftener the bane of progress than its almoner. Endow the thinker, that he may think, and the result will not be a disappointment. The unnecessary hills in the path of the student should be leveled, that his speed may be rapid and without impediments, except such as are internal. England pensions its literary men, and supports their families after they have gone into eternal sleep. Let America rise to the level of an emergency, and establish a patrimony for thinkers.

The *Academie Française* having ceased to be a literary center, French writers are depending more upon themselves for success in literary ventures than heretofore, and are really attacking the Academy that formerly

decided the fate of authors. Alphonse Daudet in *L'Immortel* ridicules its forty members, while Barbey d'Aurévilly, in *Les Quarante Médaillons de l'Académie*, writes with little hesitation the history of its decline, and exalts the independence of the individual. However, it is believed the Academy will survive its overthrow, as the conservative spirit of the able-minded Frenchmen will demand its perpetuity. In America nothing of the kind is needed, either as a stimulus to productive mental work, or as a censorship of what is produced. The writer enters the lists, runs the race on his own feet, and obtains the prize if he deserves it.

Henri-Frédéric Amiel, once a professor in Geneva, and voluminous author of lyric poetry, died in 1881, at the age of sixty years, unappreciated and forgotten. The recent publication of his *Journal Intime*, with the critical approval of M. Renan, and many German and English scholars, has rescued him from oblivion and given him an enduring name among men of letters. This is another instance of tardy justice to a deserving worker. ——Wilkie Collins writes slowly, and usually revises his copy seven times before the printer sees it.——Judge Tourjee rewrote one chapter in *A Fool's Errand* fifty-eight times.——James Whitcomb Riley, the poet, is singularly incompetent to master the simple ideas of distance and direction, and is easily lost in a city or the country.——Mr. Taine, with restored health, has resumed work on his *History of the French Revolution*.——Madame Blavatsky is preparing a large work on *The Secret Doctrine: the Synthesis of Science, Religion, and Philosophy*.——Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, after her marriage, acquired the French, Italian, and Greek languages, and studied Kant, Spinoza, Comte, Fichte, and Hegel.——Henry D. Thoreau was mordant, ascetic, friendship-snapping, in order to accomplish authorship. Julian Hawthorne speaks of him as a dismal fraud; Emerson said he was "so good—and so bad."——The *Research* is the name of a new scientific monthly started in Liverpool.——Dr. Kuno Frankenstein, of Leipsic, has launched a semi-monthly of the name of *Zeitschrift für Agrarpolitik* in the interest of agriculture.——A *Life of Emerson* will soon appear, from the pen of A. Bronson Alcott.——Rev. E. P. Roe, the Presbyterian novelist, concluded the day before his death a serial entitled *Miss Lou*.——Fourteen thousand people in London support themselves by the pen.——The *Century Magazine* is favored with one thousand articles a month; showing the fecundity of the human intellect in one direction, as well as a belief in the value and stability of one kind of literature.

The congratulations, good wishes, and various suggestions offered the editor from the Church press, personal friends, and readers of the *Review*, require a response of thanks and a promise of devotion to the duties native to the position. A careful survey of the literary estate of the Church, with its environments, resources, and necessities, suggests that our first duty is, by improved methods, to cultivate the field as we find it and to produce more bountiful harvests of thought than under old

methods it was possible to do. Keeping both aims and methods in view, we shall enter upon the ensuing year with the hope of achieving some results not hitherto considered within the sphere of legitimate reviewing. The scope, however, of the periodical has already been enlarged, the horizon of thought has been pushed forward a little, and tidings of intellectual births we are ready to welcome from any quarter. We are inclined to believe that the patrons of the *Review* will appreciate the plans we are quietly maturing for its usefulness during the coming year, and all that can be desired of them is their constant support and sympathetic consideration as opportunity presents itself. Instead of the *Review* suffering because a minister does not read it, the minister should be made to feel his loss by its absence. Are there not more than five thousand cultured minds in the Methodist ministry? Is it not a stigma on our boasted educational character that not one half of our ministry patronize the highest theological, literary, and philosophical periodical the Church furnishes? Let every minister examine his brains and draw conclusions from what he discovers. Conferences, ministerial associations, and presiding elders should be explicit in affirming the necessity of a larger circulation of the *Review*, and making its reading a proof of literary taste and an evidence of interest in denominational progress. In every Church there are also many cultured laymen, local preachers, merchants, physicians, lawyers and others, who observe with keenest interest the signs of change and movement, not only in the kingdom of God, but in that other kingdom in antagonism with it. They are not merely waiting for results, or drifting into anticipations; they are anxious to understand the forces at work for the strengthening of Zion, and are not unwilling to occupy a decided rank in the conflict with the foe. To all such the *Review* will go as a messenger of hope, and it should be placed in their hands as the best means of securing their affiliation with those agencies that, legitimately employed, will do much for the extinction of that agnosticism which for the time threatens to become the citadel of all the enemies of truth and righteousness. Hence, a presentation of the *Review* to congregations, and an earnest appeal for subscriptions, may increase the list to an extent that will justify a large appropriation of funds for its future improvement. Anent the subject, it should be stated that the *Review* publishes, not men but articles, and that these must be obtained from the best sources. Like Mohammed's camel, the editor must have perfect freedom, going whither he will in search of the hidden treasures of wisdom and knowledge if he would minister variety, scholarship, intellectual inspiration, theological manna, to those asking for these things. Believing that there are "chakhamim," or wise men, in the modern Church, as there were in ancient Israel, it will be a pleasure to secure their co-operation in setting forth truth in its majesty and holiness, that it may be observed and obeyed. Submitting its claims with these words, the present volume is closed with the belief that another year will witness a larger interest in the *Review* than it has hitherto been able to command.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS.

ETHICS *VERSUS* RELIGION.

RIGHT and wrong, as principles or conditions of moral action and reaction, compose the heritage of the race. Human society is grounded in the authority and stability of moral distinctions. They account for retardation and development, inequality and diversity, historic trends and social phenomena, governmental forms and religious systems. Both are here, the one apparently as forceful and ubiquitous as the other, the one or the other constituting the chief element of every movement, and regulating the decrees and issues of all history. Than the ethical idea there is nothing more constitutional; higher, more pregnant with possibilities, more positive in its reign than moral motivity, there can be nothing. It is the pre-eminence or inalienability of the moral factor in human life that has always arrested the attention of the thinker, and still compels solution at every turn in human affairs. So imposing is it, on the one hand, and so undergrounding every thing on the other, that scientific *savants* are proclaiming the integrity and absolutism of an ethical religion as a substitute for a religion based upon alleged supernaturalism. Agreeing that religion is the *sine qua non*, it remains to decide what shall pass by that name—the decision being determined not by sortilege, or a haphazard method, but by a calm and judicial estimate of the inherent value of the competitor for the sacred investiture. Shall religion be purely ethical in its distinctions, sanctions, retributions, and rewards, a man-made system of conducts, or shall there stand in the background the form of Deity speaking a Sinaitic language, thundering legislation in the ears of mankind, and offering a provisional regeneration as the agency of man's highest moral unfolding and efficiency? Shall man make his religion, or God be subpœnaed as originator, or at least helper? Between these the scientist, sneering at fragments of supernaturalism traditionally transmitted from generation to generation, believes the choice may be quickly and officially made, and, thus believing, he casts his vote in favor of a man-made religion.

The proposition to make a religion is the result of the Christian civilization that has brought man to his present high grade of intellectuality, and endowed him with the power to do more than the philosophers of the ancient times. It is conceded that until recently man was incompetent to frame a religion suited to his needs, and is qualified now only because of the consummation he has reached through the process of evolution. Whatever has derricked him out of impassibility, he is out, and is free to act, and, being free, he will act in self-interest. It is true, he has always energized toward self-elevation, but always on the stilted forms of borrowed faiths; but now he may hoist himself skyward by the exertion of fruitful aspirations. Still wingless, he may fly by the decree of an outstretched volition. Auguste Comte held that the religious spirit originally

tended to superstition; but recent metaphysicians discover in it the potency of independent man-hewn salvation.

Just how the moral impulse shall exercise its right to dominion is a question not fully settled by those who believe in it and predict it as the final form of religion. Häckel was decidedly in favor of conforming religion to nature; but others, especially Spencer, Frederic Harrison, and Darwin, seeing that nature does not reflect moral truth, have proposed humanity as the source of the ethical system.

It is not uncommon to find men who espouse the idea of morality as supreme and all-sufficient; in fact, from Gospel times until now, the average man has seemed inclined to rest his fate in a self-disciplined life. The scientific suggestion of an ethical religion is not, therefore, an unfamiliar one, only in its scientific aspect. It is the old habit in a new form, the old Gospel ethics offered as a new scheme with a scientific nomenclature and a modern accent. It has passed from the average man to the thinker for a scientific molding and advertising. This is the only reason that we notice it.

That the ethical concept in its philosophic fashion is admirable, even contributary to a wider public elevation, is quite evident. It is not that objection may be raised against it that it is here considered, for it is a palmary ingredient of the Gospel system, and a necessity to a well-regulated moral organism. In adopting ethics as the *summum bonum* the scientist has crossed over to Gospel ground, and he is to be congratulated on his advance from equestrian agnosticism, on which he has of late prided himself. The ethical system, rooted in the absolutism of science and the Gospel, eclipses superstitious traditions, ceremonies, and idolatries, and there is every reason for hoping that it will be intrenched in the consciousness of mankind: it is also above all that nature, with its dim light, can foreshadow or suggest: and, in so far as it is a drift from the physical basis of real life, it is a great advance and to be hurrahed on its way. Nature, as a teacher, is competent within its sphere; but its sphere is more contracted and less illuminated than the sphere of humanity idealized into the prolific source of completed virtue. As we understand it, the new ethics, cutting loose from traditional superstitions and using nature only as a hint-school, proposes to enter the instructive and intuitional outlets of humanity, and study the contents of the soul, basing its final utterances on its transparent discoveries in that occult region of sub-consciousness. Humanity, implicit with experience, history, aspiration, and knowledge, shall teach itself. Religion shall be based, not on theology but psychology; not on scriptural revelations but on the unwritten laws of the inner and hitherto unexplored abysses of life; not on verbal creeds but on indelible human appetencies and affections.

To the theistically-governed mind the insufficiency of an ethical system as a substitute for New Testament didactics is at once apparent. As a philosophy it is not so objectionable; as a religion it is transparently inadequate. Its intense humanism, superior indeed to the intense naturalism of many a German prodigal, is contrary to that supernaturalism that

history demonstrates to be possible of achievement in the human realm. Its proposed devotion to the virtues of reciprocity, chastity, truth, temperance, honesty, patriotism, and philanthropy, is commendable in that it promises to humanize man, an end greatly to be desired, since barbarism still attaches to the race; but the humanization of man is not the ideal of his capabilities. It is the religion of the golden rule and of Jesus's new commandment, an excellent fertilizer of the idea of human brotherhood, but without redemptive properties. It is like proposing to the invalid, or the hungry, gymnastics for bread. He may be benefited by the one, but he cannot live without the other. In mistaking the part for the whole, or in appropriating the segment for the circle, it loses even that that is within its grasp. If religion etymologically means to bind again, it means not only to unite man to man in a brotherly confederacy, but also man to God in living relations, superinduced by the approach of the divine to the human, and, therefore, by an emancipation of man from himself. The ethics of science is virtually the slavery of man, for it specializes no enlargement beyond itself; it is the narrow vision of one who, able to see farther, localizes his seeing, and with privilege to look upward casts his glances toward the earth.

In addition to the self-limitation here mentioned, it is clear to all observers that its data are, if not questionable, unsatisfactory, and painfully incomplete for its purpose. The ethical system on its pedagogical side furnishes little information where it is most needed, as the genesis of the ethical norm, or the root of those virtues that seem inalienable and indispensable to the stability of human society. If the moralities are the product of evolution, then it is possible that in the early history of man some of them did not exist; but no evolutionist is bold enough to attempt to name such originally non-existent but historically evolutional ornaments. The acquisitive principle—the instinct of chastity—the rationale of honesty—the counterparts of truth and falsehood—the law of action and reaction in neighborship—exhibit palpitating symptoms in pre-historic man, and cannot be explained by evolution. The most elusive thing, the core of all ethics, the *conscience*, is exempt from all processes of evolution, its history no less than its genesis being too occult for any tracing or articulation. Besides, an ethical curriculum should include a category of moral ideas and ideals, of moral laws and emoluments, of accepted gnomons, guaranteed complements, and ultimate arbitrations. In keeping with its history, however, this is impossible. Spencer, with punctilious promptness, declares that a perfect ethical system at the present time is out of the question, since it is evolutional. No absolute ethical standard has been or can be raised. All standards must be relative, to be superseded so soon as further enlightenment on the moral quality of action is realized. The evolutional system of ethics, derived from a study of environment, and shaped by the exigencies of the age, can only be adapted to the age that produced it, and any attempt to adjust it to another age is ungenerous to that age and must end in failure. Each age, therefore, manufactures its own ethics, with the probability that every subsequent age, taught by its

predecessors, will improve the standards and finally approximate an absolute system of arbitration touching right and wrong. As proof of the evolutional character of ethics, he holds that moral systems have been improving with the ages, and that the race affiliates more readily with higher standards now than ever; a fact that no one will deny who reads the tendency to dominancy of New Testament ethics in the world. Blind to this fact, himself a teacher of scientific and therefore of relative ethics, and altogether oblivious of the inconsistency, it is amusing to reflect on his recent criticism of Immanuel Kant's ethics, another teacher, extra-moral but non-evolutional, and not so perilous to follow. Kant's criterion of morality, not exactly that of the Galilean Teacher but partaking of a certain loyalty to truth, is not so far from the right as to deserve the reprobation of one who has nothing to offer save a transient, tramp-like system that must die with every generation. Kant's idea is, that the morality of an act depends upon the spirit that prompts it; Spencer's idea is, that it depends upon what the *age* thinks of it. Neither is correct, and, therefore, Shimei should not stone David.

Stalking forth as a religion, the ethical proposition must be subjected to a religious analysis and synthesis, or to the criticism of religious requirement and use. In no sense will the claim be urged that ethics is vicarious in purpose or effect, or that it pretends to make men religious. On the contrary, it proposes by an exaltation of the ethical canon to diminish the religious spirit, extinguish reverent and worshipful dispositions and rituals, dim one's knowledge of God, and lessen his sense of accountability to him. The absence of religious elements, religious purposes, and the decadence of the religious spirit are its condemnation. Instead of promoting religion, it proposes to discrown it, reduce its altars to ashes, transform its hymns into songs of patriotism and charity, and convert its rituals of worship into ceremonies of social life. It is not a supplement of, but a substitute for, religion. It is not religious—it is ethical. Any system that atheizes human belief or disinherits religion of its rights will dehumanize the race and at last destroy itself. Admitting its uses as an ethical code, it can to no degree accomplish the function of a religion, and this is decisive against it. It may build a hospital; religion requires a church. It may reform the prison; religion, with reigning power, would reform the prisoner. It may glorify the achievement of a great man; religion glorifies God. It may check evil; religion would abolish it. It may soothe the sorrowing by its ministry of good-will; religion would sanctify suffering to spiritual profit. It may stoicize the soul in presence of death; religion visions the future to the glazed eye, perfumes the sepulcher for the coming restful saint, and chants a resurrection song in the ear of the dead. Ethics is not religion, and does not perform the functions of religion.

Conceding for the moment that the reconstructionist of religion is engaged in a philanthropic movement, it may be assumed in advance that as an ethical system must in its very nature be wanting in impulsive force, save that of its own creation, it will fail to accomplish any thing

more than to advertise its inefficiency and to add to the many proofs of the inherent potentiality and self-conscious supernaturalism of that for which it offers itself as a substitute. Adam Smith's theory of "sympathy," accepted as a philosophical germ, never grew into a vital force or expanded the sympathies of mankind. Frederic Harrison, the luminous schematist of the hour, projects a social morality that may vogue its way for a season, but it will not promote ethical results nor supplant the toned and tried system of the apostles. Darwin's suggestion of constructing moral systems out of social instincts has been as fruitless as Jules Verne's plan to reach the moon. The chief defect of these theories is the failure to recognize the moral nature as primary while the social nature is secondary. They reverse the relation, empowering the social nature with elemental energy, and regarding the moral nature as its product. In this reversed position, the moral life crushed, there is no room for ethical expansion, no place for an ethical idea save that that is born of social concatenations. Hence, while the reformer is striving for a high morality he produces a low grade, the inevitable result of the misunderstood relations of the dual nature of man. In actual practice, therefore, the humanistic religion will scarcely humanize man; certainly it will not transcendentalize or spiritualize him. Even a theistic belief, with its concomitant of power, is not adequate to the divine uplifting of man to the highest point of moral supremacy; it requires the re-enforcement of the Christ-spirit to complete the spiritual transformation. But ethics alone is not only Christless but also Godless; it is atheism, and, therefore, impotent.

To the apostles of the new ethics the words of the prophet may be applied: "Behold, all ye that kindle a fire, that compass yourselves about with sparks: walk in the light of your fire, and in the sparks that ye have kindled. This shall ye have of mine hand; ye shall lie down in sorrow." Isa. l, 11.

THE CHRONIC DISEASE.

The prevalence of social miasma is the result of certain unchangeable human conditions, the recognition of which would mitigate, though not wholly correct, the evils that spring from them. No one, unless irrational, will deny the existence of great irregularities and inequalities in the social systems of the world, but the problem pressing for solution is, how to reduce them to the minimum. The attempt to eliminate all friction and reduce life to a uniformity will fail, for many of the gradations in the human sphere are necessary, have been benevolently designed, and rebellion against them would imperil the foundations of life. From the earliest times until the present the heterogeneous condition of the race has been recognized in legislation, etiquette, rights, privileges, and religions. The Hebrew republic did not provide for the absolute equality of its citizens in all things, because this was impossible. We do not speak of the Greek and Latin legislation and custom, since, whatever the civilizations of Pericles and

Seneca, they must not be judged by the standard of modern times or by the law of the Gospel. All nations, ancient and modern, small and great, have been compelled at times to deal with the conflicting interests of the masses, the result too often being not the uniting but the arraying of the rich against the poor, or the strong against the weak, and, therefore, a crisis, a revolution, a change of existing orders and institutions, has not infrequently happened.

The tendency to dissatisfaction with artificial conditions, of which the complaint is just, is as universal as it is old, every nation to-day being confronted with the fierce forms of threatened designs against their stability, if not against their constitutional life. It is portentous of most serious catastrophes that the socialistic revolution is no longer quiet and abeyant, but rather open and transparent, and that instead of confining itself to an attack upon a class it strikes at the government under which it permissively flourishes and blasphemes its character and purposes. In short, instead of a few individuals under aberration waging war upon others, we are witnessing the rising of the lower multitude in all lands against government, as if it were the enemy of mankind. The eruption of discontent among the laboring classes under every sun; the organized assault upon magistracies in the Old World; the uncertain attitude of the masses in Peru and Brazil; the announcement of William II. in his first proclamation of "unhealthy social contrasts" in Germany; the nihilistic uproar in Russia; the furious word-rebellion of Ireland against England; and the anarchic explosions in the United States, demonstrate the existence of the old disease, inherited from the earliest historic generations, and perpetuated by the gross injustices of long-standing legislation. Every-where the symptoms are manifest in the riotous proceedings of mobs, in unlicensed freedom of criticism of the social order, and in clamorous, if not barbarous, proposals for an immediate and a perilous change of the social structure. This is the situation—one requiring more than average statesmanship to meet it, one full of the foreboding of evil to all nations.

If the diagnosis of the disease would be complete, it must include not only a knowledge of the symptoms, but also of the causes that have produced them, which in this case are neither obscure nor superficial. Deep-rooted, they have become prominent in social life, exhibiting themselves as protuberances, easily found and understood. The germinal influence is history; it is a transmitted incongruity that mankind have borne in sadness and with little hope of relief; but the chronic stage has become acute in manifestation and is resolved on a cure. The consummation is an historic aggregation of evils that the enlightened age is unwilling longer to bear, even though social wreckage be the consequence of revolution.

The more immediate causes are of a nature that compel the attention of the scientist, theologian, statesman, and the socialist himself. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear that in *the scientific dictum, that the strongest shall survive, is the seed of socialistic revolution.* Much as we dislike to say

it, the cause of seismic socialism is, not statesmanship, or religion, or the social structure, but *science*, the science of Darwin, the science of evolution, that prescribes the process of elimination of the weak and the preservation of the strong. Hence the doctrine of Mr. Malthus—to allow the poor, the aged, and the infirm to die without food, medicine, comfort, or effort at restoration; a diabolical teaching, and showing the drift of a heartless nobility. The division of the people into strong and weak; the monopoly of power in the hands of the few, and the grinding of the many under the heel of tyranny; the cry of the poor unheeded, a devouring Moloch sent into the streets, and the dead buried as the calves and bulls of Bashan—these things are the outgrowths of a science brought to birth by apostles who were far removed from the beating heart of suffering humanity. Patagonia practices this science in detail, but the chief fruits have been insensibility of suffering and degradation of character, and the same outcome is manifesting itself in our scientific civilization.

But the socialistic class must also bear a part of the responsibility for the great evil of the world. Strangely enough, the revolt against the social order has been extended into a revolt against God. The socialist is an atheist. He has undertaken quite a contract if he supposes himself competent to reform this world and at the same time refuse recognition of the other. Here is his trouble, his sin, to which he clings as by a cart-rope. He is a double rebel, attempting an impossible task, and forfeiting the sympathy his cause might otherwise receive. He may create disorder, overturn governments, and with *malice prepense* attack the supernatural, but he should consider the forces against him. The true reformer, beset with temptation to extremes, often alienates those who are not opposed to his initial project, and would promote it if it were unconnected with every thing else. Socialism is losing popular favor by its atheism, its resort to dynamite, its threat of anarchy, and preference of crime as an instrument of social regeneration. Assailing society, Christianity, and government, it invites the combined opposition of the strong, and will be branded with outlawry before it is of age.

The remedy for the disease is not the knife, or Darwinism, or anarchy, but—*Christianity;* the very thing it dislikes to take. Its sublime doctrine of the brotherhood of man; its great teachings of sympathy and fraternity illustrated in the life of its Founder; its Sabbath, providing rest for the man of toil; its atonement, providing satisfaction for sin; its prayer, establishing relation with God; its humanity in Him who was human; its restraints of wrong-doing and helps to right-doing; its just and holy laws, enforced by sanctions to which no honest mind objects; its bounteous providences and fulfilled promises in those who make it the rule of life; and its large hope of the future, gilded by the brightness of the coming day, make for righteousness, peace, fraternity, progress, and happiness to all who, forsaking the evil, cleave to it with wisdom, patience, and fidelity. The social theory of Christianity is the panacea for the chronic disease of the world.

FOREIGN RÉSUMÉ.

THE GENERAL SITUATION.

THE eyes of all Europe are just now intently fixed on the development of the struggle between France and Germany. The king in his palace and the peasant in his cabin are alike on the *qui vive* to know the latest utterances of the German emperor, on the one hand, and the French rulers and parties on the other. William the Second has made the case very clear on his part by a parody of the words of the Republican magnate of 1870—Jules Favre—who declared that the "French would not then yield an inch of their territory nor a stone of their fortresses."

This was a bold formula, and one which the French nation could not maintain. To-day it is the Emperor of Germany who declares that the last German would die in his tracks rather than surrender a single stone of Alsace-Lorraine. The *rapprochement* between Germany and Russia is caused by it, because, with all the fear and distrust of Germany toward the Colossus of the North, she will there swallow a sugared pill for the sake of keeping Russia from a French alliance. The still stranger sympathy between Germany and Italy—the alliance, as it were, of the Guelph and the Ghibelline—is brought about by the cunning hand of Bismarck as another check and humiliation to his French antagonist. Even Denmark and Germany kiss each other in the persons of their respective sovereigns—these foes hitherto so intensely hostile to each other. This hobnobbing of sovereigns does not settle the case by any means among the people, but it helps to keep matters in *statu quo*, and ward off immediate war, where the result would be certain in but one thing, namely, that all the nations of Europe would be drawn into it to their great suffering without any probable profit. The traditions of William the First will long be the ruling desire of the German nation, and France will continue to make a hero of any man who will declare that his first and last desire is the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine from the hands of the Germans. In the meanwhile Europe can do little else than intently to watch the uncertain balance.

I. RELIGIOUS.

THE PAPAL ENCYCLICAL recently issued on the subject of human liberty still continues to be the theme of many articles in the religious and secular press of the Continent. As the measures of the Romish Curia are generally well considered, and have, as a rule, the traditions of a thousand years behind them, it is doubtless not an affair of chance that just now there should appear this discussion of so important a matter. In answering this question it is clear that Rome has felt the necessity of revising the constitution of the Church regarding the absolute rule of the Pope concerning the liberty of the human race at large, and his own Church in particular. This document is, therefore, less a polemic against

liberalism than an effort to come to an understanding with it. The concessions and the condemnations are therefore all placed on a strained basis, so that a just understanding of the case is rendered difficult by the practice of the Church and the various ambiguous clauses of the document.

Concerning the liberty of speech, it is not easy to decide what subjects are allowable to the field of discussion and which are not. The Romish practice may condemn some, and political sagacity others. When the Pope regards as absurd a conflict between the Church and the State, we are obliged, in the first place, to raise the question as to whether in Rome one can be impartial enough to find the absurdity on both sides, and whether in the end one is not obliged to depend on the authentic exponent of boundless wisdom. The conflict is therefore not a pure question of principle, but is soon resolved into a question of might, as in all questions of Church and State in history.

The demand of the Holy See that its claims be regarded on the ground of its infallibility has never been accorded by many pure Catholic States, even at the period of its greatest power, and much less would it be so now when deprived of its temporal power by a Catholic nation. The significance of the papacy has, from the beginning, been comprised in two essential principles; namely, that it represents the unity and liberty of the Church, and liberty in the sense that it holds the seal of its own power, and can be ruled only by itself and not by any worldly power; and therefore that all demands on the part of the emperors to meddle with its affairs were pure assumption. This was the *kulturkampf* of the Middle Ages, as it was presented by Pope Innocent III. in its sharpest formula. This papal sovereign declared that there is no comparison between royalty and the papacy, because "the papacy is like the sun, while the temporal ruler is like the stars that borrow their light from the sun. Now, in measure as the moon and the planets approach the sun, so is their light and warmth."

The Gallican Church in Paris had quite a happy time on the occasion of the presence and support of Bishop Coxe, of Western New York. The Gallicans of France, like the Old Catholics of Germany, find it no easy matter to obtain episcopal aid for the exercise of their principal sacraments, and therefore welcome bishops from other sections who are led to come and aid them. The bishop went there on this occasion as a messenger from an episcopal committee on this side of the water to see what aid they might afford to the Gallican Church. They felt justified in doing this because these Gallicans are excluded from the Romish Church, not in reality because they are heretics, but rather because they have remained true Catholics while the Church at large has gone after strange gods.

The mainspring of this activity on the part of the Anglican Church is the desire and hope of gathering at some future time this receding branch into its own fold, together with the Old Catholics of Germany,

and even all the Russo-Greek Church on the Continent. The bishop became quite zealous from the inspiration of his surroundings, and questioned the Romish claims to the primacy with well-known historical grounds, some drawn even from Jesuitical sources. He further pointed to the continual struggles of the French Church against the Pope up to the time of the Revolution and Napoleon, who wrung from Rome the concordat. The bishop went on to say: "The Ultramontanes would have changed every thing if the papal decrees had been worth the paper on which they were written. The predecessor of the present Archbishop of Paris once told me that he considered the Church of England the only true Church; that he could not become a Protestant, but that he would confess to his God that he believed neither in the supremacy nor the infallibility of the Pope."

From the Vatican we still hear the voice of mourning at their great defeat in the late municipal elections of the city of Rome, which every genuine Vaticanist considers the papal capital and stronghold. It was very hard to learn the bitter fact that the house built with so much pain and labor was but a house of cards. During the last three years an association known as the *Unione Romana*, depending on the Vatican for material support, has been working with rare zeal to bring from the electoral urn a Clerical majority in the City Council. The aid from high places encouraged this body and made them confident. They proposed to become the lords of Rome, and would use the result of the elections to prove that the eternal city would no longer bear the Italian yoke. There were diplomatists who shared these views, and sent home their reports in that sense. But now came the inevitable—the election showed a large Liberal majority, so that the Clericals did not secure a single seat.

And now that the Vatican court journal, the *Osservatore Romano*, seeks to console itself with the fact that the election was so disastrous solely from the shameless high pressure on the part of the government, it feigns to forget that the same amount of pressure proceeded from the Vatican, and closes its eyes to the fact that the papal treasury supplied funds from Peter's pence, and relieved the priests from mass to work at the polls. The *Osservatore* now complains that Italy hesitates to cast itself into the wide-open arms of the vicar of Christ. But Italy knows even better than the other States that in these arms it would find its ruin. Why, indeed, must the clergy obey the Vatican in political matters? Is it not bad enough that the State would control its subjects in this way, without the help of the Pope to influence elections? In what way would Italy—disintegrated for so many years—have finally become a united land without the liberty of the ballot?

The Lutheran Church in Paris, whose activity has been much hampered of late years by hostile legislation, has in the meanwhile turned its care and attention to its co-religionists in the outlying districts. The committee on their home mission work report excellent results in

La Villette, St. Denis, and other villages. In the manufacturing town of Elbeuf, where five hundred souls are cared for, there is German service every fortnight, and a Sunday-school in which are 180 children, twelve of whom were confirmed on Palm Sunday. This work to be fully appreciated must be understood as being carried on in a community where the antagonism to any thing that is German is bitter and relentless.

THE *Germania*, the great Ultramontane organ of Germany, is quite pleased with the recent utterances of the young Emperor regarding ecclesiastical matters. It says: "The king—that is, of Prussia—will always regard it as his duty to grant to all religious confessions in the land the free exercise of their faith." *Kulturkampf* and every other kind of oppression will thus be abolished, for in this regard the Emperor declares himself well pleased with recent legislation, which he considers well adapted to maintain peace in the land. The new ruler seems honestly inclined to favor all religious and benevolent organizations, whether supported by the State or otherwise. A deputation from the municipal council was graciously received, and finally dismissed with some very good advice in relation to schools, hospitals, cemeteries, and so forth. He recommended the construction of some new churches, which are indeed badly needed in that capital, and hinted that they might be ornamental as well as useful, and closed his address with the words: "Gentlemen, think of the churches." It would, therefore, seem from his surroundings that he will exert a positive religious influence.

IN PALESTINE, half-way between Jaffa and Jerusalem, the Jewish mission of England established five years ago an agricultural colony for the purpose of offering a refuge to Jewish refugees from Russia and Roumania. During this period about $25,000 have been expended on the personal necessities of this community. But in all this time not a single Jew has been converted to Christian baptism, while most of the settlers have gone away or returned to their home since a cessation of the persecutions. The conditions of the colony are now very unfavorable, and but a few of the original colonists remain, under the care of one missionary and one overseer. It always has been and is still sustained only by large appropriations from the English Missionary Society. Other agricultural colonies are in the vicinity, sustained by the rich Jews of Paris, but these fare no better. The moral is self-evident.

SWITZERLAND has long been a sort of city of refuge for political exiles or criminals, as the case may be; and the great Powers have silently conceded this privilege to the little State as a matter of general convenience. But the practice has been overdone, and the neighboring countries are becoming tired of having their malcontents cross the border and be quite as obnoxious as ever. They have consequently demanded of Switzerland a limited restriction of this license. The French and German anarchists have for some time been publishing incendiary sheets in Zürich—their name tells their story—*Le diable rouge*, and *Le Democrate Socialiste*, so that

several governments have demanded the expulsion of these apostles of unrest. The federal government at its recent session took measures to expel dangerous men whose only activity was in the line of vindictive aggression, and the editors of these two anarchist sheets were ordered to retire, and others will doubtless receive a like invitation. The Social-democrats and the Ultramontanes are the only ones who protest against this measure; but the reply to them was, that the right of asylum was never intended to cover the insulters of the other Powers or the instigators to political crimes. But right in the wake of these comes now the demand to expel the leaders of the Salvation Army, as this organization has been a sort of evil genius to the Swiss.

THE RUSSIANS are awakening to a great activity in their Church affairs. In the famous old town of Kiev they recently celebrated the nine hundredth anniversary of the introduction of Christianity into their land. The convocation was formed of many of the highest Church officials, and not a few from the political arena. Deputations came from all the neighboring Slavonic States, and the occasion became a Pan-Slavonic demonstration quite as much as a religious one. The Slavonic benevolent associations of St. Petersburg, Kiev, and Odessa resolved to found a Slavonic Academy of Sciences, which shall turn its attention also to Slavonic policy and politics. The continental Powers regard the movement with disfavor, believing it to mean Slavonic aggression under the tutelage of Russia. But nevertheless the Bishop of Canterbury sent his congratulations.

II. LITERARY.

EDMOND DE PRESSENSÉ is now the leading Protestant *littérateur* of France. He is not only the most brilliant pulpit orator of the Reformed Church, but his literary works have made him known all over the continent. His latest is the second volume of the *Histoire des trois premiers Siècles de l'Église*, which treats of the apostolic age, and is very favorably received in French circles. It contains a great deal that is new, although so much has been written on this subject; and beauty of style and language are assured by the author. It will be interesting to know how a man in so prominent a position in the Protestant Church of France regards the present condition of his country, and this can always be known by his "Monthly Review" in the columns of the *Revue Chrétienne*, the organ of the Reformed Church of France. Besides being a pastor, Pressensé is also a member of the Senate, and thus sees the leading statesmen at close view, and knows their motives and tendencies. His colleagues in faith owe it to him that many measures of the Radical majority of the Chambers, hostile to the Church, have been defeated or materially altered, as in the recent case of the withdrawal of all the state appropriation from the theological faculties of Paris and Montaubon. It is well known that the great majority of the Protestants of France are supporters of the Republic, and some of the leading men in the ministries

have been of Protestant faith. These have all done what they could to develop and maintain the so-called "honest Republic," and if the affairs of France were in their hands it would fare better for liberty without license. The position which Pressensé takes on public questions generally decides the trend of the whole Protestant community; and they have never yet had cause to regret his guidance. His decided opposition to Boulanger from the first, both on the floor of the Senate and in the press, did much toward opposing the charlatanry of this crazy adventurer. He speaks to his people monthly through the columns of the *Revue Chrétienne.*

The Mission House at Bonn, in Switzerland, is one of the shining lights of mission work in foreign lands, and its annual report is looked forward to with interest by friends of missions of German tongue. Its last Annual is a perfect *vade mecum* of information for mission administration, training, and practical work at home and abroad, treating even of commercial and industrial interests as far as they can favor mission effort, and especially of the mode of collection of funds. Their mission field is mainly the East Indies, China, the Gold Coast of Africa, and more recently the Cameroons—now in the hands of the Germans.

The Mission Institute at Bonn is a veritable missionary college or training school; it has now one director, ten assistant teachers, and ninety-two pupils in six classes. Its Invalid House has ten missionaries and twenty-five widows of missionaries. In active work in the various fields there are now employed 153 men and 149 women. Added to these they have a large corps of native helpers, it being, so to speak, their policy to train these immediately—putting the children into schools, and teaching both men and women the primitive manual occupations. A large increase for the last year is reported at all the stations, especially among the children; they have over 4,000 of these in East India, and nearly as many in Africa. The school census shows primary schools, Sunday-schools, and orphanages for the children, and higher schools for the training of teachers and preachers among the people. Their new work in the Cameroons and at Mungo is meeting with great success.

"History of Contemporary Civilization in France" is the title of a new work by Ramboud, of the Faculty of Letters in Paris. The author is one of the most thoroughly trained savants of the period, and his historical works are all appreciated and sought for; they all treat of some phase of French development. The present volume is the continuation of his studies in French history brought down to the present time, as the title implies. The special interest in this work is induced by his development of political life under the Republic, as he treats largely of political and social life, as well as of administrative and ecclesiastical matters, of jurisprudence, finance, the army, and education. The present status of French life, in the political field especially, is so much of an enigma that any light thrown on it by a thoughtful observer on the spot is a very welcome addition to their literature. This book is likely to prove a manual and

reference for a great many questions that now puzzle the French statesmen of the day. The author is a *Chauvinist* of the first water, and believes that his nation stands at the very head and front of contemporary civilization. His book, taken in this respect with a certain discount, is a very valuable and readable work.

"German Work in Africa" is the title of a recent issue from the press of Brockhaus, full of interest concerning the Dark Continent. It is by Goyaux, the well-known German traveler, and is far superior to the ordinary literature on that subject. It is mostly the result of long years of observation and practical experience of the author, and therein has special worth. It is written largely as an aid to the present energetic efforts of the Germans in the line of African colonization. He complains of the very imperfect geographical knowledge in regard to the German possessions in Africa, and suggests sending out practical geographical explorers to obtain accurate knowledge in that field. In the Cameroons there is now on foot a scientific expedition that promises gratifying results. One chapter is devoted to the climate of German Africa, and in this the author has no very satisfactory experience. He says: "German Africa will never be the seat of large emigration; only individual Germans who go there under the most favorable conditions, as merchants, overseers of workmen, or government officials, will be able to remain long."

The third section is devoted to the interesting subject of plantations in tropical Africa. Here we learn in full the necessary *modus operandi* of clearing the ground and preparing the soil with the labor there at command, and establishing experimental agricultural colonies. The chapter on the education of the natives is valuable, as it is the practical experience of the author of several years of labor on a large plantation. Suffice it to say on this point that he considers the negro capable of being educated, but the instruction must be wholly practical—must be virtually object-teaching on a large scale. The negro is imitative, but his ambition must be stimulated, and a great deal of patience is necessary to success. The whole book is of special adaptation to the wants and questions of the hour in Germany, and it is being well received.

"Egypt and Egyptian Life" is a new work in two volumes by Erman, published in Tübingen. The Germans may well be proud of their stately and valuable Egyptian literature, and the question may not be inaptly asked, What can they have to add to it? The reply is, that there has still been wanting a concise and compact description of the ancient conditions of Egypt, and this work satisfies this demand for the most intelligent reading circles of Germany. For instance, this second volume, now just issued, describes the religion, and care of the dead, the science and lighter literature, agriculture and manual employments, of the ancient Egyptians. These descriptions are made the more interesting from a series of well-executed illustrations that make the *Nile Land* a book for the family and an ornament to the drawing-room.

MODERN PROGRESS.

THE prehistoric man is related to anthropology, geology, and the Old Testament. It would be soothing to the speculative spirit to be assured of the date of his *début* on this planet; of the amount of his initial knowledge; whether he had any intuitions, and, if he had, whether they were full-grown or dwarfish; of his moral nature and its bias toward the depraved or holy, and of his entire moral and intellectual paraphernalia. The anthropologist would sing the doxology over a recovery of these obscure drifts of thought. But the geologist is also interested in the age of man, as many geological conundrums, such as the order of the strata, the relative age of the animal kingdom, and the antiquity of the earth, can only be solved by calculations from a fixed starting-point, such as would be furnished by a definite anthropology. In establishing geology on an unchangeable basis, the interpretation of Genesis and of all the references to man in the Scriptures would be comparatively easy, as the mystery of the great problems of science and theology is largely produced by the obscurity and inaccessibility of earth's pre-historic inhabitant, and his refusal to deliver the contents of his history to those seeking it.

It is significant that our unknown ancestor is provoking not a little inquiry in the scientific circles of Europe, and to a less extent among anthropologists in America. He is at present of more interest than historic man, because he is an "issue," and is the source of issues in scientific and theological circles. European governments are patronizing with large liberality the *savants* and the organizations whose quest is the exhumation of this absent gentleman of the tertiary period. Germany supports an archæologic institute at Rome; England deputes Theodore Bent to the Grecian Archipelago; Denmark equipped Dr. Müller for explorations in Greece and Russia; but France, more generous, because more scientific, commits antiquarianism to the Minister of Public Instruction, who organizes scientific and literary commissions, whose business it is, while developing ethnography and natural history, to find the prehistoric man. Many anthropological societies exist in the great cities of Europe, and an International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology held in London in 1868; in Copenhagen, 1869; in Bologna, 1871; in Brussels, 1872; in Stockholm, 1874; in Budapest, 1876; in Paris, 1878; and in Lisbon in 1880, with intermissions since occasioned by pestilence and war, contributed to the prehistoric question and founded agencies for its further prosecution. While antiquarians agree that this country is rich in prehistoric material, and explorations have been made in the territories and Alaska, the interest of the people to the value of an American archæology has not been developed, and we fear it would be difficult to persuade Congress to legislate, with the required appropriations, in favor of a scientific study of the ethnographic resources furnished in the west among the native tribes, and in architectural monuments in Utah, Colorado, California, and Mexico. Still, it would be gratifying if an American, on American soil, could find the tertiary occupant and solve the riddle of the generations.

The announcement of the discovery in Jerusalem, by Herr Conrad Schick, of the pool of Bethesda should not be received with unquestioning satisfaction. The value of such a discovery is not in dispute, but the evidence on which Mr. James Glaisher, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, rests his conclusion, is not of that kind to justify an immediate acceptance of his report without further confirmation. It must be remembered that this is not the first time the pool has been found, and it may not be the last. Besides, Mr. Glaisher says that the historical evidence in favor of the new site—a twin pool not far from the convent of the Sisters of Sion—is as strong as that which connects the Holy Sepulcher with the site adopted by the mother of Constantine. The latter still is in perilous controversy, with strong reasons against it; therefore, the title of the new Bethesda is of problematical value only. As he also states that no evidence of the actual site is earlier than the fourth century—the century of superstitions—it imposes a hesitation on those who do not wish to go forward in their faith until they are sure of the rock for their feet. The student can afford to wait for all the facts as they may come to light in the future.

The list of conventions held during the year in the interest of reforms, science, philosophy, language, and religion, is too long to be chronicled, but it furnishes evidence of a progressive spirit in all branches of learning and in all departments of enterprise and industry. The thirty-seventh annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was held in Cleveland in August; the National Convention of the United Society of Christian Endeavor, notwithstanding its burdensome name, rejoiced in an enthusiastic session in Chicago in July; the American Philological Association held its annual assembly this year at Amherst College, discussing Hellenic, Roman, and Syriac literatures; the International Young Men's Christian Association gloried in Stockholm over its annual exhibit of labors and results; and at a national convocation of American lawyers it was declared that stringent restrictive legislation of the liquor traffic had been enacted during the year by nearly every State in the Union. Besides, the *Jewish Chronicle* is advising a pan-Judaic convention to discuss the differences among the Jews, some of whom have foreseen the portent of the twentieth century, and are breaking away from Judaic authority to keep step with the march of the age.

Literary discoveries continue to reward the faithful student. Traditions are galloping into the desert, hypotheses shrink in the presence of the canons of criticism, written history muzzles its articulation as the antiquarian unearths and deciphers the buried plates of nations, while literature in general is undergoing reconstruction and accommodating its teaching to the latest results of successful inquiry in every field of research. The finding of a Bible in shorthand written during the reign of James II.; of the Arabic original of *Aladdin, or the Wonderful Lamp;* of

manuscripts of sermons and commentaries of Martin Luther in the library of the Konigsberg University; Joseph Cook's proposal of an evangelical lectureship in Tokio, Japan, to offset the agnosticism of the University of Japan; the conclusion of Dr. Marcou, the Frenchman, that "America" was not derived from "Amerigo" or "Americus" Vespucios, but that "Americus" was applied to the Florentine navigator because of his explorations in the New World; and the fact that a prize of three thousand francs will be given in France every three years for the best work on North American history, geography, archæology, ethnology, and languages, indicate the activity of the literary spirit in different nations, and the desire to probe the libraries as well as the earth's crust for the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

Professor Freeman, an authority of high repute, justly objects to the use of the compound "Anglo-Saxon," as expressive of what the English language is, or what it may become. It is neither Saxon nor old English, having grown away from both, and stands as a language unlike any other by its absorption of words from all languages, and by an independent creation of words by its scholars and provincial linguists. The Saxon dialect was Low German. Historically, therefore, it would be more correct to style American speech the Anglo-German language, which would be understood. It would be almost as appropriate to term it the old Frisian as Anglo-Saxon, as both are alike, with minor differences; but our language, whatever the genesis or historical character, is now specifically a new tongue, and Anglo-Saxon, or Frisian, only in the historical sense, and should be designated the English, or, what is nearer the fact, the American language. The English of England is almost a stationary language, while the English of the western hemisphere is expansive and portable, partaking of the growth peculiar to the New World, and enriching its vocabulary from the spontaneous products of indigenous conditions and creations.

Late in the tenth century (A.D. 980–1014), Prince Vladimir I., then on the Russian throne, decreed the introduction of Christianity as the religion of the empire, and without riot or bloodshed it was formally installed in the laws and sentiments of the people. After about five centuries of varied history, consisting of conflicts with Rome and Constantinople, the Russian Church secured its independence, and is in harmony with the outside Greek Church only in doctrine and practice. Its long history of consistent devotion to its primary teachings justified the splendid celebration that was held in July at Kiev in commemoration of the royal introduction of Christianity into the empire nine hundred years ago. Yet the Russian Church has not secured perfect freedom in the empire either in religion or politics, nor has it checked the ultra-conservatism that infects the governmental party and its supporters among the people. Stoutly refusing the Gregorian calendar, it is out

of joint with the chronology of Europe and the civilized world; professedly tolerant in religion, it punishes with severity any Christian who drifts into a non-Christian organization, and with stern threatening prohibits any Russian Churchman from entering a dissentient, that is, Protestant, Church, while with promised rewards it encourages proselytism to its own fold. Allowed its beneficent sway, Christianity will reform the government which has too long alienated its subjects, extinguish the conservatism that has delayed internal progress, animate the laboring masses with hope of relief from degradation and chains, purify the respect of the common people for religion, and lift up the empire as one of God's nations with a divine mission to fulfill.

Egypt, for two thousand years the basest of kingdoms, is stretching out its hands for light and liberty. The bombardment of Alexandria by the English fleet did not quench the national spirit, nor did the death of General Gordon extinguish English influence in the land of the Pharaohs. Since the days of Mehemet Ali the clouds of darkness, long settled on that Turkish suzerainty, have been slowly rising, and European civilization has found a lodgment in its beating life. Mission work has been especially fruitful along the Nile. Notwithstanding the great Mohammedan University in Grand Cairo, Christianity has intrenched itself there in a Presbyterian school, and the Bible finds many readers among the natives as far as the first cataract. Methodism should plant itself in Egypt as the head-quarters of a northern African mission.

The Franco-Prussian war was the instrument of colossal regenerations in both countries. The consolidation of German provinces and dukedoms into one mighty Protestant empire was an unspeakable gain to civilization, while the educational reforms in France, the old spirit of the Sorbonne being succeeded by the ripest modern systems, and the establishment of what General Boulanger calls a "parliamentary republic," are proofs of willingness on the part of France to conform to modern types of national tendency. Severe as war is, Providence has often made it a minister of the Gospel, and sanctified its task to the reformation and development of the nations. It is the divine rod for the disciplining of the world.

Italy is progressing rapidly in democratic tendencies. The Communal Reform Bill, which extends the suffrage to 2,000,000 citizens, was adopted at a recent session by the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 269 to 97. The land of the Cæsars, despite the regressive yearnings of the Vatican, will yet unload itself of the old monarchical traditions and the papal incubus of the centuries.

SPIRIT OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE sympathy of the leading English and American Reviews with the progressive movements of the age is a fact that their readers cannot fail to notice. It is especially gratifying to every lover of Christian catholicity to note that some of them give cordial support to the sentiment of the Anglican bishops at the "Lambeth Conference," and of some American bishops at their Church gatherings, respecting the union of Churches. Dr. Pressensé, for example, in the *Contemporary* for August, rejoices over the fact that the late Pan-Presbyterian Council in London "avowed a broad and generous catholicity which places the essentials of faith above mere diversities of theological opinion or ecclesiastical forms." He exults over that "large portion of the Church of England which refuses to make of episcopacy a new priesthood distinct from the universal priesthood established by Jesus Christ, and is content to see in it simply a form of government conducive to good order." And he notes with delight "the fact that the desire for the reconciliation of the divisions of Christendom is becoming more and more general." In the same spirit, the *Andover Review* comments on the report and resolution of the aforesaid Lambeth Conference, and declares it to be most important "for all denominations to discourage all peculiarities of worship, government, and doctrine which are foreign to a catholic spirit." It says, "Unity is most devoutly to be desired, and, as unity strengthens, such outward expressions of it as shall convince the world that 'in all worketh that one and the self-same Spirit.'" But the *Baptist Quarterly Review*, writing editorially of the late General Conference of our Church, is far less liberal than either the *Contemporary* or the *Andover*. It rejoices in the success of "our Methodist brethren," but wishes they "could see eye to eye with us [the Baptists] as to the teachings of God's word regarding which we now differ." It says, but assuredly without any just grounds, "We are glad to know that there is a growing tendency in that direction. We shall welcome the day when all denominations may agree as to the subjects and acts of baptism. If ever there is to be a formal organic union among the denominations it must begin at the baptistery! All denominations, without sacrifice of principle, could adopt the one historic catholic and scriptural rite, and thus give a deeper significance than is now possible to the words, 'one Lord, one faith, and one baptism.'" If this non-concessionist spirit pervaded the Baptist body, there would be small grounds for hoping that it would ever become a party to that fellowship of Protestant Christian Churches which appears to be imminent. "Adopt our opinions and practices, and we will unite with you," is its motto, as it also is of Romanism. But the recent withdrawal of the catholic-spirited Dr. Dowling, and the sympathy with him expressed by very many of his ministerial brethren, suggest that the *Baptist Review* is far less catholic than at least a portion of the denomination it represents. We may therefore hope that in the coming fraternal conferences of Protestant bodies our Baptist brethren,

recognizing that love for Christ, and not concord of opinion on rites and ceremonies, is the bond of fellowship, will not be found standing apart, but will, with glad hearts, friendly hands, and jubilant voices, join with their brethren of all ecclesiastical names in ascribing honor, power, and praise to the Redeemer beloved by all.

The Andover Review for August treats of, 1. "What shall be Done with Trusts?" 2. "The Unity of the Truth;" 3. "Walter Pater;" 4. "Current Misquotations;" 5. "The Natural History of Atheism." Morrison I. Swift, Esq., is the writer of the paper on trusts. He justly objects to these combinations that they destroy competition, their aim being, not to decrease prices by lessening the cost of production, but to raise them by gaining arbitrary control of the product, and limiting its output, which limitation deprives workmen of employment. By secret management of their concentrated wealth trusts may buy legislation, influence judicial decisions, employ the best brains in the country, and evade the interference of law. But because such combinations might be made advantageous they have their legitimate uses; this fact being recognized by public opinion makes their suppression neither desirable nor possible, and, therefore, as Mr. Swift thinks, the trusts will remain. Nevertheless, their power to oppress the public is so great that to leave them unhampered would be sure to cause a social and industrial cataclysm. Therefore Mr. Swift claims that trusts must be regulated by law, as railroad monopolies in England are held to strict public accountability. Law must regulate the rates which trusts may charge for their products, must dissipate the secrecy which has hitherto veiled their operations, since in doing away with competition they have taken away all just occasion for secrecy, and have made openness a strict public necessity. In like manner, law must arbitrate between trusts and wage-earners, for whole industries being reduced to a single business it is possible to determine what it can afford to pay its workmen. To obtain the information necessary to such oversight of trusts, and to judicious arbitration, Mr. Swift calls for the creation of a National Bureau of Labor, Industry, and Commerce, and for a Trust Commission.

This theory of trust regulation, rather than of suppression, has other advocates, among whom are Professors Hadley and Clark, and Mr. F. H. Giddings, whose views are thus summarized by Professor Bemis in the September issue of the *Andover Review*: "What is needed is not the forcible suppression of trusts, but the repression of railroad discrimination, and the improvement of our tariff and patent laws so as to enable the possibility of free competition to stand ever in the background and prevent these trusts from abusing their position. Thus controlled they will be a blessing, and not a terror." This may be true, provided there be virtue sufficient in political circles to faithfully administer the law against combinations which, being grounded in unprincipled avarice, will not hesitate to use every means of corruption which immense wealth can furnish.

If there be virtue enough among us to resist such temptation, then regulative law may hold trusts within the limit of public safety; if not, then, seeing they are conspiracies against the public good, their suppression will become a public necessity.

In "The Natural History of Atheism," Professor Bowne assails the "causes" of atheistic belief with a logic which is as bold and confident as it is clear and conclusive. He demonstrates its logical absurdity, showing that its maxims and hypotheses involve it in such contradictions as are implied in claiming that "an unintelligent cause produces an intelligent work, the non-rational reality produces a rational cosmos, non-intelligence produces intelligence," etc. It is refreshing to read a metaphysician who, instead of timidly defending theism, bravely carries the war into Africa and uses his pen as a lance that strikes deep into the grounds of materialistic thought. In its September number this review has among its five contributions one by Dr. Barrows, which, excepting its final paragraph, might pass easily as the product of an Arminian pen. It is entitled, "Some Theological Burdens Removed;" and, after stating the questions respecting the character of God begotten in the minds of thinking men by the Augustinian theology, it proceeds to show how, from the Synod of Dort to the present, the dogmas of Calvin have been gradually abandoned, so that "to-day all eminent theologians are in the new departure from those castings of the iron age doctrine." Of the influence of Methodism in producing this theological development, Dr. B. does not speak, albeit no other cause has wrought so mightily to bring it about. But the question of the heathen's relation to God still perplexes him, as it also does many of his brethren, and he closes his very interesting paper "by asking if the hypothesis of one probation, sometime, somewhere, for each human being for whom Christ died, and to whom he shall once be offered, may not be tolerated? Certainly it may be tolerated as a speculative inquiry, as certainly it is not answered in Holy Writ, and therefore cannot be determined by human reason. But why need good men disturb themselves with it? Is it not enough to know that "God is love;" and "shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

The New Princeton Review for September has: 1. "Literary Anodynes;" 2. "The New Psychology;" 3. "Irish Home Rule and its Analogies;" 4. "The Knights of Labor;" 5. "An Old Master;" 6. "Pessimism and Recent Victorian Poetry;" 7. "The American School of Art;" 8. "Camelia Ricardo." Of these articles the first will chiefly interest novel-readers; the second, by J. H. Hyslop, is metaphysical, discriminating the conception of psychology as "the science of the phenomena of consciousness" from that which makes it "the science of the soul." "Irish Home Rule," by Edward A. Freeman, is largely and ably historical, and defensive of the practicability of home rule for Ireland. While admitting the uncertainty of its results, under present conditions, it contends that the difficulties and dangers of refusing it are far greater than those of granting it. "The

Knights of Labor," by F. A. Walker, is a thoughtful paper, showing why that order failed to achieve what was expected of it, and claiming that its decline was caused, not by the resistance it encountered but by the common sense of its members, which led them to see that its benefits did not compensate them for the cost of its maintenance. "An Old Master" is an interesting essay on that far-seeing philosopher, Adam Smith, and his eminently instructive and valuable writings, which have been and still are "a world-force in thought." In "The American School of Art," Mr. I. Durand gives a sketchy *résumé* of the history of American art, with brief notices of some of the artists who have contributed to its reputation and growth.

The *Quarterly Review* for July contains: 1. "Admiral Coligny;" 2. "Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century;" 3. "Wagner and Liszt;" 4. "The Game and Game Laws of India;" 5. "Reminiscences of the Coburg Family;" 6. "History and Reform of Convocation;" 7. "Chinese in Australia;" 8. Fifty Years Ago;" 9. "The House of Lords;" 10. "Local Government Bill." The paper on Admiral Coligny is not a rehash of old materials, but is based largely on original contributions to the history of the man who embodied in himself "the highest attainment of which his age was capable." Count Jules Delaborde, M. Bersier, M. Aguesse, and Prof. Baird are the authorities for its facts. Of these Delaborde is the most important, because his ponderous volumes contain "an exhaustive assemblage of all that can cast light upon one of the grandest figures of French Protestantism." Documents found in the manuscript department of the National Library, and hitherto unpublished, furnished him with original authorities which he wrought with unwearied diligence into his "painstaking narrative." Thus guided, he was able to give the world a portrait of Gaspard de Coligny which justifies Hugh Fitzwilliam, Queen Elizabeth's envoy, in writing to his royal mistress, "The Admiral is the rarest nobleman in Europe." Assuredly Coligny was great in his statesmanship, great in war, great in peace, great in his loyalty to religious truth, and great in the wisdom with which he sought to baffle the guile with which Catharine de Médicis, the Guises, Philip II., and the Romish cardinals combated, with fatal success, the Huguenots, of whom he was the unrivaled leader. But even his rare sagacity could scarcely foresee that the bloodthirsty Catharine would so exasperate her imbecile son, Charles IX., with reproaches and "frightful blasphemies," as to wring from him his consent to that diabolical deed known in history as the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. But, to the disgrace of her sex, her murderous scheme succeeded. Coligny, with thousands more, was murdered, and the Reformation was throttled in France. But, says this reviewer, "It is the immortal glory of French Protestantism that in the days of Alva and Granville, of Catharine de Médicis and the Valois, and Philip II., when diplomacy was honeycombed with treachery and undermined by fraud, it should have developed such a hero, '*sans peur et sans reproche*,' as Gaspard de Coligny." But while this and most of the other articles

in this number of the *Quarterly* are interesting to general readers, the one on the "Chinese in Australia" imparts information respecting the Chinese which is of especial value to Americans who are apprehensive that emigrants from China may come to our shores in such overwhelming numbers as to be a source of social and industrial demoralization. The Australians share a similar apprehension. The author of this article presents numerous facts calculated to modify, if not to allay, this fear. Taking the best authenticated statistics, he finds that the present population of the eighteen provinces of China is estimated at about 340,000,000, which, however, Sir Richard Temple reduces to 282,000,000. But taking the highest number it gives only 268 persons to the square mile, which is less than in Great Britain, where there are 289 to the square mile. Of cultivated land in China there is an average of $1\frac{1}{3}$ acres to every inhabitant, while in France the average is only $1\frac{2}{3}$. Hence the population and acreage in China are such as to sustain the Marquis Tsêng, late minister to England, in saying, "China is under no necessity of finding in other lands an outlet for a surplus population." Moreover, she has ample room in her immense outlying but mostly unsettled territories of Manchuria, Mongolia, and Eastern Turkestan for all her subjects who may be disposed to mend their fortunes by emigrating. The writer also insists that the Chinese government does not favor the emigration of its subjects to foreign lands, and only resents treaties which exclude them from America and Australia because they are leveled against them not simply as men of an undesirable class, but as natives of China. In plain words, the national self-respect of China is wounded by such treaties, and she will not accept them. The article merits the attention of every student of the vexed Chinese question.

The Contemporary Review has: 1. "The Progress of Presbyterianism;" 2. "Mr. Forster;" 3. "The Birds of the Outer Farnes;" 4. "The New Dogmatism;" 5. "The True Policy of National Defense;" 6. "State Socialism;" 7. "The Parochial System at Fault;" 8. "The Awakening of New England;" 9. "New National Insurance Laws of Germany;" 10. "Recent Oriental Discovery;" 11. "Chaos in the War Office." The first of these articles, from the eloquent pen of Edmond de Pressensé, represents the spirit and action of the Pan-Presbyterian Conference which met at London in July last. It glances at the history of Presbyterianism, states the advantages of its ecclesiastical principles, its departure in doctrine from its former Calvinistic standards, and describes its present vigorous growth and missionary activity. "The New Dogmatism" is a scathing review, by Lewis Wright, of "The Story of Creation: a Plain Account of Evolution:" from the pen of Edward Clodd, who is a pretentious exponent of materialistic evolution. His cosmic philosophy is based on the assumption that "Evolution is all or nothing; *therefore it must be all!*" Hence, his "new dogmatism will not have a God, anywhere, . . . will not recognize a Creator in any way." Mr. Clodd's confused reasoning places him in the category of men de-

scribed by the text which says, "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God." "The Awakening of New England" does not treat of its religious, but of its literary life. It comments with due appreciation and more or less fairness of discrimination on the writers who flourished in New England between 1830 and 1880. In "Recent Oriental Discovery" we have a paper by Professor Sayce, the accomplished archæologist, which states, as an important fact, that a large collection of cuneiform clay tablets have been recently discovered at Tel el-Amarna in Upper Egypt. They are inscribed in cursive Babylonian form, in the Babylonian language, and consist of letters and dispatches sent by the governors and kings of Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia to the Egyptian monarchs, Amenophis III. and IV. Five of the letters were written about B. C. 1430. This discovery of literary intercourse, says Professor Sayce, is likely to produce a revolution in our conceptions of ancient Oriental history, and will have important bearings on the criticism of the Pentateuch. It makes it evident that good schools existed throughout western Asia. It furnishes evidence that the libraries of Canaan were written on imperishable clay, and therefore inspires hope that when the buried relics of Tyre and other cities in Palestine are exhumed many of their ancient books will be found. These will subject the truth of the Bible to fresh tests; but no man having faith in its inspiration doubts the result. Therefore he will say, Let the light antiquity affords fall upon it, until its truthfulness is so demonstrated as to silence all the cavils of infidelity.

The New Englander and Yale Review for August has: 1. "Governor Chamberlain's Administration in South Carolina;" 2. "The Spirits in Prison — a Neglected Theory Reconsidered;" 3. "History in Names." The first of these papers is a leaf from the history of the political reconstruction of the South, and defends with seeming justice the administration of Governor Chamberlain. Dr. F. C. Porter, in "Spirits in Prison," advocates tentatively the theory of Baur, that the spirits were the sinning angels, and the preaching the announcement of judgment. Dr. Porter's exegesis is learnedly and skillfully done, but is not conclusive. Neither can the theory be made consistent with the line of Peter's reasoning; nor could he have expected his Gentile converts to comprehend an allusion to fallen angels used as an illustration.

The *North American Review* for August has: 1. "Prohibitory Law and Personal Liberty;" 2. "The Divided Household of Faith;" 3. "A Menacing Irruption;" 4. "Educated Actors a National Necessity;" 5. "How Will the Irish Vote?" 6. "The Open Door of Dreamland;" 7. "Our Chief-Justices Off the Bench;" 8. "Wool;" 9. "Notes and Comments." The first of these articles is a symposium in which seven more or less distinguished gentlemen succinctly present the grounds on which the current demand for laws prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks reposes.

They reason strongly and conclusively, showing that a prohibitory law is a social necessity. The paper misnamed "The Divided Household of Faith" contains a series of audacious assertions from the pen of R. G. Ingersoll, who writes in the spirit of Voltaire, but who conspicuously lacks the intellectual breadth and vigor of that notorious opponent of the truth. Mr. Ingersoll appears to be afflicted with a morbid "hunger and thirst after assertions." His paper adds nothing to, but rather detracts from, the value of this, as a whole, excellent number of the *North American*. In the article entitled "A Menacing Irruption," Mr. T. V. Powderly, chief of "the Knights of Labor," makes some startling statements concerning the importation of pauper workmen from Europe by the owners of mines, mills, factories, and lumber camps. The evil of which he complains is unquestionably serious. He proposes a drastic remedy; to wit, a law requiring intending emigrants to ask an American consul permission to emigrate at least three years prior to date of sailing; paupers, imbeciles, criminals, and persons unable to read and write to be rejected. Mr. Powderly's aim is a good one, but the wisdom of some of his proposed methods is questionable. In the article on "Educated Actors," Cora Maynard insists that play-actors should be professionally trained. Would it not be better to so educate the religious and moral sentiments of the people as to give them such a distaste for theatrical performances as to destroy the actor's occupation? Concerning the "Irish vote" in the Presidential election, Patrick Ford is evidently in doubt. It is equally evident that he wishes it to be given for the Republican candidates. "The Open Gate of Dreamland" is a very interesting paper by W. A. Crofut, an amateur mesmerizer. His facts seem to prove that mesmeric force is a real power which may be put to both criminal and therapeutic uses. Hence he properly insists that it should be seriously studied in medical colleges and by scientific men. F. G. Carpenter's article on "Our Chief-Justices" is a very entertaining specimen of anecdotal biography in which the persons and characteristics of the chief-justices of the Supreme Court of the United States are pleasingly sketched and illustrated. In his paper on "Wool," E. H. Ammidown argues in favor of the retention of the present tariff on wool. To a pronounced protectionist his figures will appear convincing; to others they will seem inconclusive. What the majority thinks on the question will soon be declared by the revelations of the ballot-box.

In its *September* issue this Review has a paper from the pen of Cardinal Manning, entitled "The Church Its Own Witness.' It is presented as a contribution to the "Gladstone Ingersoll Controversy." In reality it is a specious eulogy on Romanism, which the cardinal designedly confounds with Christianity, of which it is a corruption. Happily for the hope of the world, the Church of Christ is not, as the cardinal unblushingly claims, that human organization known as the Papal Church; but it is composed of the entire body of spiritual believers, whose head is not a human pretender to infallibility, but the divine Christ, who ever liveth at the right hand of God to make intercession for sinful humanity.

The American Catholic Quarterly Review for July contains: 1. "The Latest Historian of the Inquisition;" 2. "Art and Religion;" 3. "Johannes Jannsen, Germany's Great Historian;" 4. "Buddhism and Christianity Compared;" 5. "Twenty-four Years in Buenos Ayres;" 6. "Induction, Ancient and Modern;" 7. "The Battle with Antichrist in France;" 8. "The New Penal Code in Italy;" 9. "The Attack on Freedom of Education in Massachusetts;" 10. "The Concord School of Philosophy." The literary ability of this Review need not be denied, but its fairness and candor may be called in question. Its first article is lamentably lacking in these qualities. The "Historian of the Inquisition" of whom its contributor treats is Henry Charles Lea. It is not a review of Mr. Lea's great work, but a bitter diatribe against its author, inspired, apparently, by an unconfessed fear that his book may fall into Catholic hands. Hence it gives him a bad name. It charges him with incompetency as an historian; with partisan prejudice; with ignorance of theology and of canon law; with blasphemy; with "total unacquaintance with the commonest Catholic practices of the present day;" with strange ignorance of the piety of the Middle Ages; with not writing history at all; with a preposterous love of anecdote, especially of the unutterable sort; with missing the elements of the problem he sets himself to prove; with utter incompetence to deal with the sources of the canon law; and with "resembling nothing so much as a party pamphleteer!" By such calumnious assertions the reviewer evidently hopes to persuade his readers that the Professor's work is unworthy of their attention. He must feel very confident that they will believe him and ignore the book, since if any intelligent Catholic should read it he could scarcely help seeing that his mendacious assertions concerning it are unqualifiedly false. Evidently the reviewer was biting a file and it hurt him. Dr. Dorchester's "Christianity in America" appears to have hurt the editor of the Review in like manner, for, in noticing the doctor's book, he also pours a stream of maledictions upon the head of that painstaking writer, whose sin is to have told the truth about Romanism in America. In "The Battle with Antichrist in France" the statesmen who are seeking to place the educational institutions of that country under *lay* control are styled Antichrist; and it shows that the papist way of opposing it is to revive the superstitious side of Romanism by urging the people to observe the "perpetual adoration" of the sacrament. Hence the churches, in many places are kept open day and night for this purpose. In "The New Penal Code in Italy" the effort of the reigning pope to enlist the great European Powers in a crusade for the recovery of his lost temporal possessions is strongly indorsed, with an evident purpose to influence public opinion in America in favor of that disturbing project. American Protestants do well to note such papers as this, because they prove that if Romanism had a dominating power in our political life it would seek to make it tributary to the ambitious schemes of the pope and of the restless Jesuits who constitute the power behind the papal throne.

BOOK CRITIQUES.

A STATEMENT.

THE Indexes make their imperious demand for space in this number; hence the limitation of this department. Many ministers are asking us in some way to designate such books as should be purchased for immediate use, or such books as, secured on our recommendation, will not disappoint the reader. In complying with this request, we deem it proper to state that our reviews shall be, not in the interest of authors or publishers, but in the service of truth, and for the benefit of the library of the minister or layman who is anxious to add to it works of special excellence. While the general approval of a book signifies its general value, we shall restrict the recommendation to purchase usually to *three*, and never to more than *five*, in any given number; and this without any reflection upon those not in the list. The preferred books of this number are: *The First Epistle of St. John*, by the Rev. J. J. Lias; *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, by Dr. T. C. Edwards; and *History of the Christian Church*, by Prof. G. P. Fisher.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

A System of Biblical Theology. By the late W. LINDSAY ALEXANDER D.D. LL.D., Principal of the Theological Hall of the Congregational Churches in Scotland, Minister of Augustine Church, Edinburgh, etc. In two volumes. Vol. 1, 8vo, pp. 487. Vol. 2, 8vo, pp. 483. New York: Scribner & Welford. $2 per volume.

In taking up a new treatise on theology the first thought is of the "school" it vindicates, if it be a "school" theology; for in foreign lands the theology of a Church is not always a unit, as German Protestantism includes among its ministers Rationalists, Confessionists, Mediationists, and Evangelicals; while in Scotland, as well as England, the variety of theological beliefs in the Church is sufficient to impair the homogeneity of the public faith. Dr. Alexander is represented by the editor of these volumes as independent, of the ultra-Calvinian order, and as the author of a theology that, escaping the pitfalls of the elder teachers, must be acceptable to those of advanced views regarding the doctrinal teachings of the Scriptures. At once the Arminian reader is pleased, for he expects to find, not a solution of the differences between the hoary faiths, but, what is sometimes the easier method out of difficulty, an abandonment of the differences, and the development of new ideas that eclipse the old and tend to bury it out of sight. For twenty-nine years the author chatted theology to the students that crowded his hall, frequently revised his lectures as new views occurred to him, and often rewrote them, so that these volumes contain his matured conclusions on theological subjects.

Depending upon the editor for information touching the plans, motives, and forecastings of the lecturer, we learn that his chief aim was to elaborate divine doctrine in a scientific form, to systematize his theology thus

established by the scientific method, and to eliminate the objectionable features of a Calvinism considered obsolete in the advanced thought of Christendom. To some extent this programme is carried out, awakening the impression, that, with all the scientific lectures of the lamented author in our hands, we might find it entirely compassed; but the two volumes fall short of the expectation the preface, in this particular, creates. In that he discards as non-scriptural the prevalent doctrine of the Trinity, of the eternal generation of the Son, the procession of the Spirit, of adoption, of imputation, and of an indefinite or universal atonement, he breaks with both the strict and moderate schools of Calvinistic theology. Not agreeing with him in all these advanced or reconstructive attempts, we hail it as a good omen that one of their own number is willing to obliterate the Calvinistic hue from monumental theology. In the proposed scientific elucidation of the doctrinal teachings of the Scriptures and in the partial abandonment of high Calvinism the lecturer was on the right track, but, either from the timidity that an environing conservatism begets, or from the mental uncertainty that new and conflicting interpretations often inspire, he did not go far enough. It is refreshing to find an ultraist courageous enough to renounce allegiance to helpless and irrational dogmas; but such a one should renounce all the old leaven of Calvinism and embrace the whole truth on the opposite side. This Dr. Alexander did not do; nor, as it seems to us, did he intend to do what his editor declares to have been his purpose. Stepping backward, and then running forward as if ready to leap to the goal, he fails to make the leap. He creates expectations but does not fulfill them.

In the single matter of scientifically vindicating the truth, which is promised, it is difficult to see wherein any truth takes a scientific form, or is made to rest upon a scientific basis, or how he can be reported as a scientific theologian at all. He is a theologian of the ripest intelligence, of fruitful knowledge; a scholar of breadth; a thinker of force; spiritual-minded, with perceptions clear and intuitions acute; a writer of periods distinguished for consecution of thought and concinnity of expression; a virtuous plotter with the highest wisdom. While he shakes some of the old dogmas to the ground, as dust from his feet, he does not take up the inspiring exegesis of the Remonstrant theology, or of any type of modern interpretation that bewitches, by the power of its truth, unto his thinking or living. On the diacritical points of theology he is as vulnerable as the old school; his *finesse* aside, he is one of them; he does not abandon the soteriology of the hyper-Calvinist, but reiterates it all, and upholds it all with the same circuitous method of reasoning, and reproduces the same unsatisfactory and decrepit line of argumentation with which we are all familiar. Paradoxical as it is, he advances and retreats in the discussion of the same subject; he says farewell to some old dogma and then rehabilitates it subsequently. On one page he writes like a free-thinker, on another like a bondman; and so the theology, instead of leading out of darkness into light, stands still, looks forward a moment, and dismally echoes the old song of the fathers.

As to the source of sin, he is sure that not God, but Adam, is the responsible party, but this is not new to Arminianism. As to the sacrifice of Christ, he rejects the notions of high Calvinists and Remonstrants, but suggests nothing on which to stand. As to atonement, he is ecbatic rather than telic; but though this is a departure from the old theology, there is nothing in it that justifies it, even from the Arminian stand-point, and a party of ecbatists is hardly probable. As to election, he is on the side of the oldest Calvinistic interpreters, and here we join issue. Here, if anywhere, he should have advanced beyond the hide-bound notions of the old school he professed to leave; but he is as logically irrational as the most obtuse and incorrigible defender of the old hypotheses of his tutors and fathers. In substance he says (vol. ii, 238–245) that the people of God are such because of a choice or election of them by him, and that the election was formed from all eternity. Arminianism holds, that one is a Christian because he elects to be one; Calvinism holds, that one is a Christian because God elected him to be one from before the foundation of things. Is the election divine or human? The one school maintains that it is divine, while the other insists that it is human. The verb *εκλέγω*, if decisive of the elector, is an Arminian word, for it expresses the act of choosing, and choice implies one of two courses or results, which is possible with man as chooser; but God makes no choice in the highest matter of salvation, for he "is no respecter of persons." The idea that God chooses implies that if he does not choose he rejects; and, as divine rejection must be as eternal as divine choosing, some were rejected from all eternity, or were damned before they were born, and were born to be damned, for the decree must not fail. Is this advanced theology, or the old husks of Augustine, Calvin, and the Predestinationists? The world is anxiously waiting for its release from this old-time, thick-crusted, semi-Universalist theology, and will welcome the theologian who will pierce it to death; but a Calvinist who pretends to disbelieve in the dried-up dogmas of the old school, and then prances the most horrifying of them all into the ring for inspection and admiration because he chooses a different form in which to present them, does not deserve the confidence that a straightforward, honest, but deluded victim of the old faith is likely to receive. In spite of the disguise, these volumes may be examined with profit, as showing a tendency toward emancipation from the crystallized dogmatism of many centuries, but which the conservatism of the majority is still able to repress but not to extinguish.

Living Religions; or, The Great Religions of the Orient, from Sacred Books and Modern Customs. By J. N. FRADENBURGH, Ph.D., D.D., Author of *Witnesses from the Dust, Beauty Crowned*, etc. 12mo, pp. 508. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. Price, cloth, $1 50.

As an author, Dr. Fradenburgh has reached distinction; as an investigator of Oriental customs, archæological treasures, and ancient religions, he justly passes in this country for an authority, and holds membership in several antiquarian societies in Great Britain. Enjoying rare facilities for

the study of his subjects, he has improved them in a methodical and scholarly way, going deep into the darkness of things, as a diver at sea, that he might bring forth the pearls of knowledge and add to the resources of those who covet a right understanding of human history. The present volume, unlike many that discuss the old religions, displays the bright side of Semitic faiths, finding in them truths that prognosticate the full developed revelations of the Christian Scriptures, and afford common ground for pagan and Christian teachers in the consideration of their religious antagonisms. It is also biographical, succinctly photographing Gotama, Lao-tsze, Confucius, Zoroaster, and Mohammed, the founders of the old-world systems of morality and worship. The theology of these philosophers necessarily occupies the attention of the author, as, holding to certain tenets in common, they vary enough from one another to be easily distinguished, and from Christianity to exhibit their inferiority as mere systems, and their unfitness to regenerate the sages bent on purity and knowledge. In these one-legged faiths we meet a mythology less refined than in the Homeric religion of classical Greece, an interpretation of matter less philosophical than was taught by the Alexandrine coterie of thinkers, and an eschatology not only shocking in its particulars, but greatly at variance with the incumbent ideas of Christian civilization. The author has wisely circumscribed his studies within knowable limits; for, while there is much in these well-preserved dogmatisms to provoke speculation, he has avoided it in the conviction that facts, with such addenda of proofs as were accessible, would be preferred to a philosophic inquisition, however brilliant or critical, which might be made. We must certainly indorse this work for the pains manifest in its preparation, the abundance of the facts presented, and the intelligent *résumé* of these historical forces or norms of hoary systems of priestcraft.

Missionary Addresses. By Rev. J. M. Thoburn, D.D. 12mo, pp. 220. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Price, 75 cents.

The publication of these addresses—the first five of which were delivered before the students of the Garrett Biblical Institute, and the second five before the School of Theology of the Boston University—is a wise proceeding on the part of our Book Agents. No one in the missionary field is more competent to pronounce upon missionary questions, and no one has been more enthusiastically welcomed in pulpit, camp, college, and at the fireside, than the author of these lectures. His long and triumphant service in India; his abiding interest in all plans for the conquest of the nations; his sensible judgment of the world's situation, and his keen penetration of the spirit and purpose of the Church; his clearness of view on all questions relating to general salvation; his knowledge of the prophecies, as applicable to these times, and of the countries in which the missionary is at work; his transparent style of speech, and the magnetism of a sympathetic heart, combine to give authoritative currency to his addresses and to guarantee them the legitimate influence of their teachings. Colloquial in presentation, analytic in method, and covering

the essential points in a subject of such interest and dimensions as that of evangelization, the book can be read with great profit by the undergraduate, the adult student, the minister, and the laymen in all the churches.

The First Epistle of St. John. With Exposition and Homiletical Treatment. By Rev. J. J. Lias, M.A., Vicar of St. Edward's, Cambridge, late Hulsean Lecturer and Preacher at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. Extra crown 8vo, pp. 424. London: James Nisbet & Co. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Price, cloth, $1 25.

The revolt from the dominion of German commentators of rationalistic flavor has commenced none too soon, American and English critics and theologians being competent to do equally exact and fundamental work in exegesis and exposition. Nisbet's Theological Library, of which this volume is a member, is an independent and vigorous research into the intricacies of biblical revelation, supplying the theological craving more fully than the plodding but admittedly effective scholarship of Germany has been able to do. It is refreshing to read this book, as it maintains the genuineness of John's first epistle in opposition to Dean Alford, and by arguments incontrovertible, such as its style and the prominence of Logos as the word peculiar to John in his Gospel and the Apocalypse. The great value of this commentary, for such it is, is threefold: (*a*) Its clear presentation of the differences and coincidences between the gospel and the epistle, the one being addressed to those without, the other to those within, the Church; (*b*) the setting forth of the Logos in the gospel as a *person*, and in the epistle as a *doctrine;* (*c*) the prominence it gives to the object of the epistle, namely, to preserve the disciples from Antinomianism and the influence of Antichrist, and to reveal to them the light, righteousness, and love of the Christian life. Constantly relying upon other commentators for their views, the author is always courageous enough to differ with them, even the most learned, when he has good Greek, Hebrew, or other ground for his difference. The study of the epistle in the light of this exposition will be rewarded with an enduring clearness of the truth it flashes upon Christian character and duty.

The Unity of the Truth in Christianity and Evolution. By J. Max Hark, D.D. New York: John B. Alden. Price, cloth, 80 cents.

It is useless to deny a perturbation in the theological and religious thought of the world; and any attempt to restore it to its normal equilibrium must be approved. Dr. Hark, holding that the cultivated antagonism between Christianity and Evolution is the source of unspeakable mischief, here undertakes to exhibit fraternal relations between them by pointing out an evolutional character if not process in the doctrines of theism, providence, prayer, man, sin, salvation, and of religion generally. In enforcing the harmony, which is not patent in every instance, he claims that spiritual truths need not be abandoned; but it is difficult to prevent a despiritualization of any doctrine when it is reduced to an evolutional result. It is a travesty on some of the great truths of the Gospel to march them to the front in evolutional clothes, and pronounce them good soldiers of Spencer and other lieutenants of modernism. In the light of

evolution sin is a reversion to a particular type, and recovery from its degradation is impossible, except by the aid of an outside source. The "Saviour-power" has always been in the world, reacting upon man's nature until conscience and the moral faculties were fully developed, and by the interaction of outer and inner relations, or the influence of environment upon organism, a higher ethical and moral life has been secured. As the plants grow, so man has evolved into a better than primordial condition. The Saviour is considered the outside factor in this inside regeneration; but he works methodically and according to the precise rules of evolutional growth in nature, finally perfecting man in his own image and by the co-ordinate impartation of his Spirit. The commonly received theological expositions, regarded as obsolescent, are exchanged for evolutional explanations of the spiritual states, functions, and prerogatives of the soul; and religion, in all its varied moods, concatenations, and reflections, is reduced to an evolution. While the analogy between natural and spiritual truth may be exhibited because it exists, it should not be pressed to the eclipsing of that which is spiritual. In his anxiety to close the controversy between the two sides, the author, familiar enough with his subject, and writing in a pleasant and crystal-like style, has yielded more than is necessary, and exalted evolution at the expense of Christianity.

The Epistle to the Hebrews. By THOMAS CHARLES EDWARDS, D.D., Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. 12mo, pp. 337. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1 50.

This is one of the series constituting *The Expositor's Bible*, of which six volumes have already appeared, and others are to follow, under the editorial supervision of the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll. The learned author veils his labors in the attempt to attain simplicity of expression and practical exposition of the text; but it is apparent to the close reader that the book is the product of most careful thought and the amplest scholarship. Renouncing the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he does not determine who wrote it, though (p. 337) he insists that an apostolic man must have originated it. Rising higher than a homiletical disquisition, it is a disguised theological analysis and unfolding of the epistle, which must give it a standard place in the library of the scholar. Of the sixteen chapters of the book, the third, in which the oneness of the dispensations is made manifest; the seventh, in which the allegory of Melchizedek is interpreted as referring to the eternal duration of Christ's priesthood; and the fourteenth, in which the conflict of faith is emphasized, are beacon lights along the path of the central thought of the epistle. Few books of its class are superior to this for transparency of style, concentration of thought, and rapid transference of divine ideas to secular molds and forms.

Behold the Man! By FRANZ DELITZSCH. Translated by ELIZABETH C. VINCENT. Price, 25 cents.

A tractate by "one of the profoundest of German theologians and scholars," and rendered into good English by a competent translator.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

Trees and Tree-Planting. By Gen. JAMES S. BRISBIN, U.S.A. With a Portrait. 12mo, cloth. New York: Harper & Brothers. $1 50.

Why a military officer should write a book on such a subject as "Trees" will puzzle most readers until, reading the Introduction, they will learn that the author had passed his infancy in the umbrageous shade of the wide-spreading pines of the Alleghanies, and was born with a natural love of forestry. In his military career he had spent four years on the desolate plains of the West, sighing for the sight of bush, tree, and the cooling shadows of the glen and arbor. This may seem sentimental, and insufficient as a motive for writing so extensive and valuable a work as is here presented. The real motive was the fact that, treeless as were the plains, the tree-endowed regions of the country were suffering from the rude attacks of the ax-man, against which protests had been heard in vain, and disaster must necessarily follow. General Brisbin, as we think correctly, holds that "the day of reckoning" has come, and that a restoration of the forests is one of the conditions of the future safety of the country. He writes vigorously along this line, giving facts that warn, and embodying suggestions that should be heeded by the individual and the State. The defect of writers on the general subject is manifest in this, that while they cry out against forest destruction they propose no method of reproduction, leaving the evil just where they find it. The author takes up the subject at this point and suggests restoration, and by methods practical and successful. It was with difficulty that he could get a hearing anywhere when he first proposed the remedy; but gradually the journalists and statesmen of the country saw the wisdom of his plans and the necessity of recovery, and already the most beneficial results have been realized by their adoption. The subject itself has produced a literature *sui generis*, books and pamphlets in large numbers being now issued from the press in favor of tree-planting and against the tree spoiler. Besides, many States, Nebraska being the first, have adopted an "Arbor Day," on which trees are planted by the millions, and forests have multiplied all over the arid "deserts" of the great West. General Brisbin is to be congratulated on awakening the country's enthusiasm over the planting of trees.

It should be said that the book is no mere manual, but a work of great labor, evincing an erudition scarcely to be expected on such a subject, and containing such historic references as to the effects of tree culture, as to make it very valuable. Fifty-eight chapters are none too many for the author's purpose. He describes at length the consequences of forest destruction, the effect of forests on a country, the danger of timber famine, the famous trees of the world, the temperature of trees, the propagation of trees, the medicinal properties of trees in the United States, with chapters devoted to individual classes of trees, as the walnut, the box-elder, the chestnut, the pines, the lindens, the bow-wood, the catalpa, the fringe-tree, the yew, the eucalyptus, the buckthorn, and the mahogany-

tree, stating native country, uses, varieties, special properties, description of leaf and flower, and methods of propagation. To all who desire knowledge on trees this book is cordially commended.

The Great Pyramid of Egypt. Its Teaching to Us as a People. A Lecture delivered at Chautauqua. By CHARLES LATIMER, C. E. Chicago: C. H. Jones. 25 cents.

The theory of the lecture is, that the pyramid of Cheops, the oldest and largest in the world, was built under divine direction, as were Noah's Ark, the Tabernacle, and Solomon's Temple. The arguments in support of the theory are less curious and speculative than the reader unacquainted with the pyramid might at first suppose. The mathematics of the structure would indicate for its builders a people who had some knowledge of geometry, geology, and astronomy, which proves that they were not Egyptians. Scholars, for long differing in judgment as to the age of the structure, are slowly concurring in the conclusion that it was built B. C. 2170, or in the time of the shepherd kings, or about the time of Job. This takes it completely out of the hands of the native people, and demolishes the theory that it was built by Cheops and for his tomb. The history and the science corroborate each other as to date and people, in other words, they affirm the origin of the pyramid.

The problem of its design is more difficult of solution, because while the first problem was one of fact the second is largely one of inference or interpretation. Here, however, the skill of the civil engineer, scientist, or theorist seems to be sufficient; for he works as confidently on the signs of things, events, epochs, or truths as on the things themselves; and if we cannot admit the conclusions we must admire the processes upon which they are proclaimed. For instance, the length of the galleries, the system of fives and nines on which the pyramid was erected, the height and width of the chambers, and even the dimensions of the sarcophagus, are taken as symbolizations of all the events or truths of Scripture, as the creation of man, the deluge, the incarnation, trinity, sabbath, end of the Christian dispensation, judgment-day, heaven, and hell. It is regarded by the enthusiasts as the pillar of witness in fulfillment of Isaiah xix. 19, and is a standing rebuke of all infidelity, agnosticism, and blasphemy. The theory is captivating, and in the absence of rebutting evidence is believable. The pyramid may be one of the "signs," as it certainly is one of the "wonders" of Egypt. Our only hesitation to accept it as a divinely-inspired architectural pile grows out of the uncertainty of the demonstration; still the theorist has our sympathy and good wishes.

Mr. Latimer does not amplify the theory, or even develop it in any single line. He does little more than state it, inciting the curiosity without gratifying it. Though not the author of the theory, his lecture unjustly leaves that impression; but it robs Piazzi Smyth, Astronomer Royal for Scotland, who in his great work, *Our Inheritance in the Pyramid*, declares not only the Anglo-Saxon relationship to the builders, but also furnishes extensive ground for believing in the inspiration of the men who built it. The Rev. Dr. Seiss, of Philadelphia, in *The Miracle in Stone*, comprehen-

sively vindicates the theory, and leaves little for others to do unless they supplement discovery by discovery, explanation by explanation, star-light by a meridian sun. This Mr. Latimer has not done, but his lecture is an inspiration nevertheless.

How to Judge of a Picture. Familiar Talks in the Gallery with the Uncritical Lovers of Art. By JOHN C. VAN DYKE, Author of *Principles of Art*, etc. Pp. 168. Chautauqua Press. 75 cents.

This unpretentious volume deserves a place in every home library, and ought to be read and studied by Americans, a majority of whom are uncritical lovers of art. The author is correct in saying that the art education of the American people has been sadly neglected, and that not one in ten can distinguish a good from a bad picture. We have sacrificed æsthetics on the altar of utilitarianism; but the day is not distant when the relation of the beautiful to life will be accepted as intimately as any other relation. Our splendid mercantilism eclipses the æsthetic love that is struggling to creep into daylight. Recognizing this inner love, Mr. Van Dyke's book ministers to it, and is an educator in its line. Incomplete in many respects, as he acknowledges, it is so valuable in its suggestions that the uninitiated in the art realm will be thankful that there is not more to master and apply. His chapters embrace such subjects as "Color and Harmony," "Tone and Gradation," "Light and Shade," "Perspective and Atmosphere," "Values," "Textures and Qualities," "Drawing and Form," "Composition," "The Object of Art," "Ideas and Subjects," "Style and Individuality," "Oils, Water-Colors, Pastels, Etchings," and the "Conclusion." We commend this volume to those who need instruction in this realm, as inexpensive and invaluable.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

History of the Christian Church. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D., Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. With Maps. Octavo, pp. 701. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

If earnest and conscientious research has anywhere been made, it certainly has been by students of the history of the Christian Church. The result has been the preparation of many large histories and of more numerous handbooks, which have presented the facts and philosophy in many different phases. In answer to the question, To what purpose is another? it must be recollected that in history, as in physical science, the work is never completed—new and fresh statements are needed. Progress in historic study has been no less real, nor scarcely less rapid, than in chemistry or biology. The spade is turning up to the light long-buried witnesses, whose testimony has reversed many a former verdict, and new documentary evidence is seriously modifying earlier statements. These considerations will justify the appearance of new books on what some may deem stereotyped themes, but which are really new by virtue of an inherent energy of life that makes history a matter of progressive development.

For these (among other) reasons will the thoughtful public welcome Prof. Fisher's book. It shows entire familiarity with the latest criticism of the early records, and measurably with the modifying teachings of archæology. Its discussions are characterized by the poise and judgment of the true scholar. While he is far removed from the region of frigid indifference (which has sometimes been confounded with impartiality), and is warm with interest in his theme, we find scarcely a trace of partisan zeal or indiscriminate condemnation. His dissent, when expressed, is characterized by such candor and kindness that even opponents are constrained to respect his opinions. Recognizing, as he does, that the Church is composed of fallible men and women, and has often been encompassed by most unfavorable environments, the author feels that the charity which "rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth," should abound in him who would worthily trace the development of the kingdom of heaven among men.

Probably the hand-books of Hase and Kurtz have not been surpassed—the former in lucidity and glow of style, the latter in the skillful handling of the enormous mass of materials. The numerous editions through which they have passed in the native land of Church history attest their excellence. But it must be remembered that neither of these writers (nor any German) gives sufficient prominence to the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in its marvelous variety of activity and unfolding. Just herein does the history of Professor Fisher supply a long-felt lack of these otherwise matchless manuals. Largely for the reason that he worthily traces the history of Christ's Church in the British Isles, and in that greater Britain beyond, will his work prove especially welcome. The chapters devoted to the American Churches and to Christian missions will be read with deep interest, and to some will prove a revelation. They connect us with the great Church universal as no other general history has done; and the American Christian will be more than ever inspired to lay the best material and spiritual resources of his country under contribution to bring in the final triumph.

As Methodists we naturally turn to the account of the Wesleyan movement of the last century. While necessarily brief, the author's treatment is generous and largely sympathetic. Like Lecky, Green, and other recent writers, he searches for some adequate cause of the beneficent and widespread effects witnessed in the present time. While less keen in his analysis than Lecky, Professor Fisher is fully alive to the forces which were at work in the Wesleyan reformation, and gives them worthy recognition. Good maps and tables, together with a well-digested bibliography and general index, add immensely to the value of the book.

An Outline History of Greece. By JOHN H. VINCENT and JAMES R. JOY. Pp. 201. New York: Chautauqua Press.

In these busy days the average man will not undertake to read the twelve volumes of Grote's History of Greece, but he will read an outline history and be profited by it. Appearing under a double authorship, this little

volume is the most exact, the most comprehensive, and the best suited to its purpose that we have seen. It is an expansion of Dr. Vincent's Text-book of Greek History, but still compressed into a 12mo edition, and can be read at odd times in a week or two. Grecian History, according to the principal author, is not reliable prior to B. C. 500; but in our judgment it is possible to get into the region of trustworthy facts as early as the first Olympiad, or nearly three hundred years earlier.

This book is conveniently divided into three parts: "Preliminary," or a dissertation on "The Land and the People;" "History," beginning with "The Heroic Age," tracing progress under the leadership of various cities or countries, as Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Macedon, with a chapter on "Subject Greece," and closing with "Liberated Greece," or "The Modern Kingdom;" and "Biography," or "The Men of Early Times," "The Men of Greater Greece," and "The Men of Later Greece." Three pages are given to "Pronunciation of Foreign Words and Names." Who reads this book will be stocked with information that will serve him in his future studies.

The Story of Ohio. By ALEXANDER BLACK. Illustrations by L. J. Bridgman. 8vo, pp. 326. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. Price, cloth, $1 50.

The Story of Turkey. By STANLEY LANE-POOLE, Assisted by E. J. W. GIBB and ARTHUR GILMAN. 12mo, pp. 373. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $1 50.

Fifty Years Ago. By WALTER BESANT, Author of *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*, etc. Profusely Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 268. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2 50.

Thirty Years of Paris and of My Literary Life. By ALPHONSE DAUDET. Illustrated by Bieler, Montégut, Myrbach, Picard, and Rossi. Translated by LAURA ENSOR. 12mo, pp. 348. New York: George Routledge & Son. Price, paper, $1 50; leather, $2 25.

A careful examination of this historical collection authorizes discriminating criticism. By the American reader Mr. Black's book will be esteemed of standard excellence, as after describing the great possessions of the North-west, secured as a part of the new republic by the ordinance of 1787, it sketches pioneer life in the territory of Ohio, with Indian wars and conflicts with the French, and those progressive movements of the yeomanry that culminated in the great State whose "story" is here narrated. Taking her place in the Union, her career in peace and war is clearly set forth, with biographical notices of some of the mighty men who have not only honored the State, but contributed statesmanship, political genius, and religious greatness to the nation. Ohio is too large a State, her history is too broad and deep and her influence is too potent and enduring, to be detailed in a work of this size; but what a compressed style, elegant diction, and a sense of the drift and spirit of history would enable an author to accomplish he has succeeding in writing a book of which the citizens of Ohio will not be ashamed.

Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole is unfortunate in his Preface, for in acknowledging that the book is a combination of three authors—that the naval history of Turkey, interesting because it discloses the relations of that

country with other nations, is omitted—that he has avoided the "sin of moralizing" on Turkish affairs and events—and that if the reader desires to know more about Turkey he must read Sir Edward Creasy's *History of the Ottoman Turks*—he discounts the book sufficiently to prejudice its usefulness and to destroy its reliability. However, starting with the thirteenth century in European history, and tracing the growth of the Ottoman Empire through its ambiguous and self-destructive vicissitudes down to the year 1880, reciting the principal wars in which it has engaged, the numerous treaties it has signed, and the constant diminution of strength, resources, and territory that it has suffered, it accomplishes a purpose that a reader not anxious for a larger volume will appreciate. Scholars must take the author's advice and go elsewhere for what they want.

Mr. Besant's *Fifty Years Ago* derives its importance from the facts of the period he considers, and the brilliant style in which they are dressed for his readers. As an imaginative writer, picturesque in his thinking, keen in his scent for the great and the minute, and skillful in grouping what he finds, he excels the average historian, and may rightly claim for his book a place in the gallery of the more established books of reference. Lacking the stately form of exact history, it is more refined in spirit, and will be read to brighten a dull hour when the portly volumes of the standard historians will be eschewed.

Alphonse Daudet, as an autobiographical writer, is a success. He is the chief figure in his *Thirty Years*, telling us about his books, his plays, his acquaintances, his clothing and personal habits, not forgetting to weave into the racy story an account of the literary celebrities of Paris, and to reflect the undercurrents as well as outward ebullitions of the French capital. In thought, temperament, and expression he is decidedly a Frenchman. His representations of the literary *salons* are pellucid streams of charming diction, with brilliant rodomontades on the ambitions of the brained autocrats of the beautiful city. His pictures of his associates are models of French skill in drawing character, while the revelations of his poverty, wanderings, temptations, illnesses, defeats, and triumphs distend the book to an agreeable length, and inform the reader of the inwardness of national proclivities and immunities.

Representative Methodists. Biographical Sketches and Portraits of the Members of the Twentieth Delegated General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in the City of New York, May, 1888. By ROBERT R. DOHERTY, Ph.D., Assistant Editor of *The Christian Advocate*. With an Introduction by Bishop THOMAS BOWMAN, LL.D., Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Quarto, pp. 189. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. Price, $4.

If the value of a biography may be determined both by the character of the subject and the ability of the biographer, this book is more than representative of its kind, for it excels in those qualities necessary to the permanency of this form of literature. It was no easy task to accumulate and then abbreviate, or reduce to proper biographical order, the materials of the lives of nearly five hundred Methodists, all noted more or less in

the local churches of which they were members, and many of them renowned in the Church for labors abundant, and for special honors and usefulness. Yet the task has been accomplished, and in a style that must commend itself to the delegates themselves, and to all who have any interest in those who were the legislators of our Israel in 1888. While the sketches are models of brevity, the portraits accompanying them give the reader such an idea of the personal appearance of the delegates as cannot be reflected by a sketch, provided he is skilled in physiognomy, or can interpret character from a profile. As a specimen of what a publishing house can do, we commend it to those who, as authors, are seeking for the workmanship that abides and is open only to the minimum of criticism.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The City Temple Pulpit. Sermons with Lectures on Homiletics. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D. 12mo, pp. 296. New York: Tibbals Book Company.

The key to the mental character and habits and the spiritual tone and beliefs of the famous London Dissenter is in one's hand as one reads this volume. Here is the sermon, sparkling with gems of his creation, or a lecture almost heavy with the under-current of a massive conception, but, taken *tout-ensemble*, a lifting up of truth in the divine light that ever invests it. His homiletical lectures, being based upon his experience as a preacher, are free from speculation and are full of practical and available wisdom. This book is commended, not to raise up a class of imitators, but as suggestive of some of the best methods of attaining usefulness, if not celebrity, in the ministerial vocation.

Names and Portraits of Birds which Interest Gunners, with Descriptions in Language Understanded of the People. By GURDON TRUMBULL. 8vo, pp. 221. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2 50.

This, in the main, is a non-scientific book, but of practical value to the sportsman. It is written by an experienced gunner, who aims to give just such information as is wanted in the field or forest. Scientific names of birds are rarely given, while common or local names, with their origin, abound in the description. Sixty birds familiar to gunners are accurately described, with the locality where they are found, and such incidents of sport-life are narrated as relieve the volume of a uniformity in treatment. In spite of the avoidance by the author of a scientific cast, the book, as made up, will be an aid to the study of ornithology as a science. Hence to both classes, the scientific and the practical, this octavo will be of consequence. Ninety illustrations illuminate the text.

A War-Time Wooing. A Story. By Captain CHARLES KING, U.S.A. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 195. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A novel of the latest war period in the United States, abounding in familiar incidents, reviving localities and scenes in a well conceived plot, and written in a clever and all but attractive style.

The Tabernacle: Its Furniture, Priesthood, and Ceremonies. Illustrated with Colored Plates prepared Specially for the Purpose. With Maps and other Illustrations of Palestine, for Sunday-school Teachers and Bible Students. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. Price, 25 cents.

For the understanding of the Bible description of the Tabernacle this quarto pamphlet may be of use to every Bible reader, and an instructive companion in every Christian household.

Cash! or, Number Nineteen. A Story of Real Life. By CARLISLE B. HOLDING. 12mo, pp. 238. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Price, 90 cents.

The object of this story, framed as fiction, but veritable life in essence, is to disclose the influence of Providence, through parental control and individual self-purpose, in the life of man from boyhood to age. Its high purpose atones for some literary deficiencies not necessary to mention.

Through the Long Nights. A Novel. By Mrs. E. LYNN LINTON. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, 25 cents.

Brilliant, with occasional pathetic touches, amorous in sentiment, and successful in the development of its plot.

Paul, The Matchless Man. Baccalaureate Sermon at Napa College. By A. J. NELSON, D.D.

Psychological in structure, elegant in style, and abiding in its impressiveness.

The Eavesdropper. An Unparalleled Experience. By JAMES PAYN. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, 25 cents.

A hastily written story by a writer who excels in fiction.

The examination of the following books is deferred until the next number:

Philosophia Ultima. By CHARLES W. SHIELDS, D.D., LL.D.
Principles of Economic Philosophy. By VAN BUREN DENSLOW, LL.D.
Philosophy and Religion. By AUGUSTUS HOPKINS STRONG, D.D.
My Story of the War. By MARY A. LIVERMORE.
The Tabernacle of Israel in the Desert. By JAMES STRONG, S.T.D., LL.D.
The Evolution of Episcopacy and Organic Methodism. By T. B. NEELY, Ph.D., D.D.
The Story of Media, Babylon, and Persia. By ZÉNAIDÉ A. RAGOZIN.
Dissolving Views in the History of Judaism. By Rabbi SOLOMON SCHINDLER.
The Chief Periods of European History. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D.
Institutes of Christian History. By A. CLEVELAND COXE.
Lamartine's Meditations. By GEORGE O. CURME, M.A.
Social Life and Literature Fifty Years Ago. Anonymous.
Modern Cities. By SAMUEL LANE LOOMIS.
Book of Jubilees. By GEORGE H. SCHODDE, Ph.D.
Man a Revelation of God. By G. E. ACKERMAN, D.D.
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